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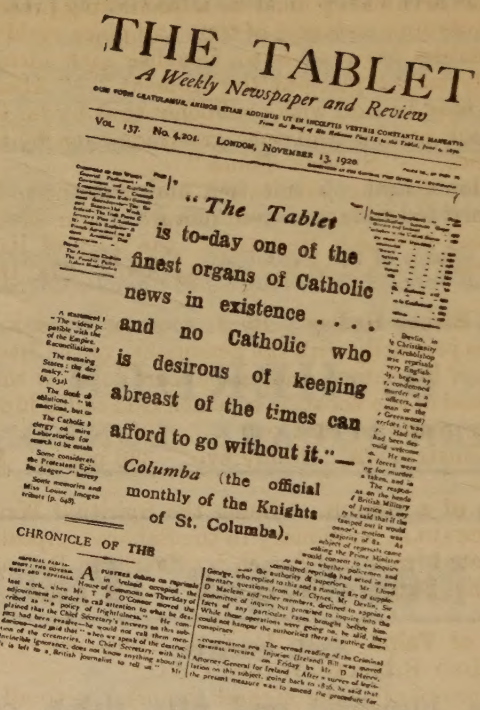
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AGRICULTURE AND EMPLOYMENT IN THE FREE STATE

BY GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

Professor of National Economics, University College, Dublin.

INTELLIGENT discussion of the economic problems of any country is impossible in the absence of adequate statistics illustrating its existing situation. No student of the economic problems of the Irish Free State can plead as an excuse for his shortcomings the lack of such material. The Statistics Branch of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce has produced a series of most valuable reports dealing with every aspect of the country's economic and social structure. Of such publications the *Report on the Agricultural Output of Saorstat Eireann*, 1926-7 is possibly in some respects the most valuable that has yet appeared. The principal result that it discloses is that the value of the average output per worker employed in agriculture in the Free State is estimated at £96, as compared with £104 in Northern Ireland, £169 in England and Wales, £184 in Scotland, and £196 in Denmark. This is a somewhat depressing figure, because the standard of living of any agricultural community depends mainly though not, of course, exclusively upon the average output of the workers. The standard of living of agricultural workers in the Free State must therefore be lower than in Great Britain and Northern Ireland and much lower than in Denmark. Moreover the value of the output of agricultural workers sets the upward limit to the value of what they sell, which in its turn determines the amount of purchasing power of non-agricultural commodities that they possess, and it would appear that the market provided by the agricultural population of the Free State is abnormally small—a matter of importance in considering a policy of industrial protection.

The comparison between the output per head in the Free State and in Denmark is peculiarly interesting, because it shews that there is room for a great increase of output within the existing system of farming. To increase the quality and intensity of the existing agricultural system has been the principal object of the present government's policy, and the validity of the means adopted to implement that policy is certainly vindicated by these statistics. The cause of the comparatively small output of the Free State farmer is not to be found in the lack of a market, as it is shown in this same report that the British market for Irish agricultural products is capable of almost indefinite expansion. It must lie therefore in some defect in the farmer himself or in the organization of his industry. There is no doubt that the dairying industry in this country is capable of great improvement both on the productive and on the marketing sides, and it is in the achievement of that improvement that the best hope for the future lies. It must be remembered that milk and store cattle are joint products, and that in developing the former one must have the latter in mind. The question of obtaining an increase of milk-yields at the expense of some damage to meat-animals does not arise, as we are still far from reaching that yield of milk per cow that might threaten the quality of our dry stock. Increased dairying will probably influence the character of our cattle trade, by lowering the age at which cattle are exported, a change that will also be helped on by the baby beef movement. The Department of Agriculture may be trusted with confidence to pursue the same wise policy as it has done in the past; and, now that its hand is strengthened by the Live Stock Breeding Act, there is every reason to hope that the quality of Irish cattle will be rapidly raised to an even higher level, with due regard to the needs both of dairying and the live stock trade.

There is also room for a considerable degree of

intensification of the existing system of farming. A comparison between Denmark and the Free State shows that Danish farming is much more intensive than Irish. The production of pig and poultry products is capable of great development side by side with the intensification of the dairy industry. Such an increase of intensity would doubtless result in an increase in tillage, which would almost certainly be accompanied by an increase in the imports of feeding stuffs and other raw materials of the industry. It must be clearly understood that any attempt to impede the importation of such articles by import duties or other restrictive measures would retard the desirable development of agriculture along its most profitable line of progress. Danish statistics prove conclusively that a very high degree of intensive cultivation is compatible with a large import of feeding stuffs and other agricultural products.

It must not be concluded that any such improvement of the dairying industry would greatly increase the volume of rural employment. A table in the Report comparing the conditions in Denmark with those in County Limerick is peculiarly interesting on this point. It is shown that, whereas in Denmark 61·2 per cent. of the total area under crops and pasture is ploughed, only 4·5 per cent. is ploughed in County Limerick, but that, in spite of this great disparity, the number of workers employed per thousand acres is only 62 in Denmark as compared with 46 in Limerick. The difference in the areas tilled is to be explained by the fact that Danish land is less fertile than Irish and therefore more suitable for tillage, and the difference in the numbers employed is explained by the facts that the average farm in Denmark is comparatively large and that the supply of labour in Ireland is abundant and is therefore sometimes wastefully used. It is evident of course that the output per man in Denmark must be higher than in Limerick. It is impossible to emphasise too strongly the fact that a

policy calculated to induce large and efficient production does not necessarily entail the employment of a correspondingly large amount of labour. It is possible, for example, that a consolidation of many of our small holdings would result in an increase in output per head of the agricultural population ; but such a measure—which is of course not " practical politics " in the Free State—would certainly not increase the numbers employed on the land. In this respect a lesson may be learnt from the situation in Great Britain to-day. The British Government is attempting at the same time to rationalize industry and to relieve unemployment, and it is only gradually being realized that the attainment of the former objective may increase the difficulty of attaining the latter. Likewise in the Free State we must be on our guard against attempting to achieve by the same measure inconsistent aims. The problems of increasing output and of finding employment for a large population are fundamentally distinct.

The failure to realize the importance of this distinction is responsible for many well meant proposals for the encouragement of tillage by artificial stimulants. While everybody will agree than an increase of tillage is desirable, care must be exercised in the choice of the means employed to achieve the increase. Many people, for example, pin their faith to the granting of a subsidy on the growing of wheat. In so far as this proposal can be justified at all, it is not on the ground of increasing agricultural output or of developing the agricultural resources of the country, but on the ground of providing rural employment and increasing the volume of home-grown food. Neither of these justifications is in fact capable of being supported. The figures quoted in the last paragraph show that a great increase of tillage can take place without a corresponding increase in employment, and in any event the labour employed in growing the subsidized crop would probably be withdrawn from

some other type of agricultural production. The argument based upon the desire for an increase in home-grown food is equally without foundation. The Free State produces a surplus of food over its own requirements at the present time, and any curtailment of imports of wheat during war could be quickly made good by an increase of cereal cultivation—as indeed was done in the Great War. It is not my intention to discuss the proposed wheat subsidy in this paper; the proposal stands completely shattered in the majority report of the Economic Committee; the only reason for referring to it and the tillage question here at all is to emphasize the fact that increased production through increased tillage or otherwise will have little if any effect on increasing rural employment. If we had to choose between an increased output per head and an increase in the numbers employed, there might be some hesitation in coming to a decision if all relevant considerations from the national standpoint were to be taken into account; but from the purely economic standpoint there is no doubt that the increased output per head should be preferred.

The reason for this unhesitating choice is that it is the output of the producers in a country that determines the level of the national dividend. Policies designed to secure any other end, as for example, a large volume of rural employment or the insistence on the home growing of particular types of food may be productionally injurious because they tend to deflect producers from more profitable into less profitable production. Such a deflection must be paid for by somebody, whether it be the consumer of the artificially encouraged article or the general taxpayer, and it therefore involves a transfer of wealth from one section of the community to another. Transfers of this kind may be distributionally objectionable if the transferors are on the whole poorer than the transferees. One of the objections to the proposed wheat subsidy, for example, is that the farmers who would

contribute to pay the necessary tax would be poorer than those who would receive a share of the subsidy, because wheat is a crop that is suitable only for rich soils. A policy designed to promote increased output involves no distributional results of this kind; it aims at maximizing the national income and thus at raising the standard of living as high as possible.

The amount by which the national income can be raised by increasing the output per worker depends on, among other things, the relative prices of the things which the farmer has to buy and of the things he has to sell. The prices of the things he has to buy are to some extent under the control of farmers themselves, their organizations and the government under which they live. The cost of capital for example may be lowered by the establishment of land mortgage banks, or the cost of marketing—both buying and selling—by the development of cooperative methods. The price of the things which the farmer has to sell is however fixed, in the case of a country producing largely for export, by causes over which neither he nor the government of his country has any control. The price of Irish farm produce is fixed by world conditions of supply and demand, and if the Irish farmer cannot succeed in reducing his cost of production to the level of that of his rivals he will not be able to sell at a profit. The farmer's profit is the difference between the selling price of his produce and his expenses of production; the former is fixed by circumstances outside his control, and he must therefore concentrate his attention on larger yields and on lowering his costs of production. The policy of the Free State government in relation to agriculture can be analysed as an attempt to obtain larger yields and to reduce costs of production in various directions.

If general prices were fairly stable, a position of equilibrium might be reached that would secure farmers a reasonable profit, taking one year with another; but

when general prices are fluctuating, a new and most disconcerting element is introduced. The farmer sells his produce at wholesale prices and purchases most of the things he needs either for raw material or for domestic consumption at retail prices. It is notorious that wholesale price movements precede retail, and that producers are consequently seriously injured during periods of falling prices. The last few years have witnessed a steady fall in the level of wholesale prices which has not been accompanied by a movement at all so rapid on the part of retail prices. The lag between the two movements is generally regarded as being one of the major causes of the distressed condition of British industry to-day; the British index number of wholesale general commodity prices has fallen greatly in two years, whereas the cost of living index number has fallen much less rapidly during the same period. The situation in the Free State is similar, because while our index number of agricultural prices has fallen materially, the cost of living index number has failed to fall at the same pace.

The following table shows these price movements :—

Year	Statist index number of wholesale commodities 1913=100	British cost of living index number, July, 1914=100	Irish Free State agricultural prices, index number 1911-3=100	Irish Free State cost of living index number, July, 1914=100
1924	164	174	160	186
1925	160	176	158	190
1926	148	172	140	185
1927	144	168	132	175
1928	141	166	137	174
1929	135	164	139	176

General price movements are the result of causes over which neither the Irish farmer nor the Free State government has any control. Rightly or wrongly, wisely

or foolishly, the world has elected to return to the gold standard, and prices are again largely at the mercy of gold. The reasons why the Free State is bound to follow its neighbours in this matter are explained in the final report of the Banking Commission 1926 and need not be repeated. Suffice it to say that the Free State is on the sterling exchange standard and that it is destined to share both the advantages and the drawbacks of changes in gold prices. The stabilization of the value of gold is of course one of the most pressing problems of the day, but it is a problem that is admitted by all to be capable of solution only by means of concerted international action. No single power, great or small, can stabilize gold prices acting alone, and the Free State farmer must remain content to suffer from price fluctuations until the great powers have succeeded in establishing some control over general price movements.

The price of the things which the farmer has to sell in an export market is, as we have indicated, outside his control or that of his government. The prices of particular commodities are fixed by world conditions of demand and supply, while general prices are determined by monetary conditions. The price of the things he has to buy, on the other hand, are, to some extent at least, capable of being controlled. The figures we have quoted show that the level of retail prices is not only high compared with that of wholesale, but also that it has risen more since 1913 in the Free State than in Great Britain. The cause of the high level of retail prices in the Free State was exhaustively considered by the Food Prices Tribunal of 1927 without any very definite conclusions being reached. It was suggested that the cost of living is kept artificially high by the unduly large number of small shops, but this explanation is unsatisfactory and inadequate, and the proposal that all retailers should pay an annual licence fee would do nothing to relieve the situation. The high retail price level is undoubtedly caused to some

extent by disorderly marketing on the part of consumers, and could be remedied by the extension of the cooperative movement. But it is also caused to some extent by the policy of industrial protection which has been pursued in the Free State. Here we have a cause for which the government is directly responsible, and for the cure of which we must look to our own government and to our own government alone.

We are here confronted with the principal economic problem of the Free State to-day. Is it possible to encourage new industries without causing reactions injurious to vested interests ? That the development of manufacturing industry is imperatively needed is a matter on which there can be but one opinion. Agriculture will not find employment for a growing population ; and some alternative source of employment must be created if the emigration and the consequent decrease in the population are to be arrested. As regards the means by which this universally desired objective can be best achieved there is much dispute and disagreement, which have given rise to a controversy in which more heat than light is usually generated. To enter into that controversy is no part of our purpose ; indeed it would be far outside the scope of an article which aims merely at calling attention to a most valuable statistical document.

GEORGE O'BRIEN.

Comments on the Foregoing Article

NO. 1—BY JOHN BUSTEED, M.COMM.

Professor of Economics, University College, Cork

PROFESSOR O'BRIEN concludes his article by stating that it "aims merely at calling attention to a most valuable statistical document"—to wit, *Report on the Agricultural Output of Saorstát Éireann*, 1926-7. I will chorus his praise. I consider that we have (within the limitations imposed on it) the best Statistical Office in the world. I will not, however, accept its figures as readily as Professor O'Brien when it comes

to international comparisons. I suggest, for instance, that the Danish definition of " workers employed in agriculture " does not fit in with the Irish definition, and that all comparisons between the two are defective.

Professor O'Brien however uses only one text from the volume, and while I cannot agree as to its arithmetical accuracy, I will not quarrel with the general proposition that the " Danish worker produces more than the Irish agricultural worker."

Unlike my colleague, whose first reaction to this is that it is an argument against industrial protection, the immediate thoughts prompted in my mind are that the Danish farmer has not had the advantage of either the Act of Union, the English language or the policy of *laisser-faire*; that Danish agriculture has attained its amazing growth during the period in which the Irish agricultural population was collapsing; and that based on this agriculture Denmark has built up a non-agricultural population which is twice as big as its agricultural population.

It is quite reasonable to assume that, had Wolfe Tone achieved his dream, Ireland would have developed similarly to Denmark during the dynamic nineteenth century. It is well to think over the might-have-been, because it compels us to face up to the question as to how much of the might-have-been we can capture at this stage. There is no justification whatever for a policy of drift (called by cultured people " *laisser-faire* "). Our rudderless drifting in the nineteenth century need not, and must not, be repeated in the twentieth century. There must be a positive national policy. Its place cannot be filled by bloodless economic abstractions.

When Professor O'Brien postulates that " the problems of increasing output and of finding employment for a large population are fundamentally distinct," my reaction is: " Yes, I suppose so, but *how* are we to find employment for a large population ? Let us face that question." I am sure that if the Irish Free State were thoroughly rationalised, its present output could be produced by a population of less than a million people; but our real problem is one concerning *three* million people. If these extra two millions are mere cyphers to the economist, then economics stultifies itself.

Professor O'Brien's article is mainly expository, and he does not commit himself to any policy, not even the policy of drift. He has at least this much in common with myself that he appreciates the dangers of being dogmatic in a highly complex and most difficult problem. Nevertheless I do not think I am

doing him an injustice when I boil down his thesis to these main points :—

1. The Irish agriculturist is inefficient and poor.
2. Increased tillage would not improve his position.
3. He cannot carry a protected industrial community on his weak shoulders.
4. Presumably he should concentrate on those sections of agriculture that have survived the nineteenth-century *débâcle.*

I must say quite seriously that, if I were to accept this thesis, I would recommend that we all go off to America. To concentrate a nation's effort deliberately on a restricted sphere of agricultural production would, in my mind, be an act of extreme irresponsibility.

The idea of expanding the agricultural sphere to include much increased tillage has an *a priori* appeal for me. The problem is too technical and too complex for me to feel in any way dogmatic, but I do know that the positive wheat policies of France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and other European countries have not been " completely shattered by the Majority Report of the Economic Committee."

And I suspect that this problem can never be settled by the economists and technicians, that it is fundamentally a question of intuitive approach. The Frenchman, the Italian and the German have codes of values and social intuitions which are not possessed by the Englishman. The latter places his faith more in individualistic materialistic success. He concerns himself far more with production than with consumption or distribution. This Calvinism has produced wonderful victories, but it is also mainly responsible for a state of affairs when there is an " overproduction " of food in an underfed world.

In Ireland I think we have a conflict between this Anglo-Saxon mind and the Catholic and Gaelic mind, which latter would tend to stress many community values other than mere technical " efficiency." From the purely technical point of view it may well be that a few very large flour mills in Birkenhead could, if given the monopoly, supply the Irish Free State with flour more economically than the present system does. Yet can we imagine Dáil Éireann ever discussing whether or not such a monopoly should be granted ? I am sure that my children and those of my neighbours could be clothed, fed and trained more " efficiently " in a properly organised workhouse, but I have detected no desire among my neighbours for such an arrangement.

Without discussing the other values which justify an all-round economic development even at the loss of some technical efficiency, there are, I think, overwhelming economic arguments against narrow agricultural specialism.

Even if we were to assume that the agricultural worker has the same productivity as the industrial worker to-day, within ten years beyond doubt the industrialist would have far outpaced the agriculturalist in productivity and wealth. The industrialist handles more homogeneous materials which lend themselves to machine treatment more easily than does the farm. In the machine world improvement is continuously occurring, and mechanistic invention, far from slowing down, is proceeding more rapidly to-day than ever. This tendency will continue. The factory will increase in productivity much more rapidly than the farm.

Further, in the world of prices the industrialist is far superior to the farmer in manoeuvring power. The factory can close down at a day's notice if it is operating at a loss, and very often can switch over to a cognate line of production. On the other hand the farmer, once he has put his hand to the plough, is more or less committed to a certain line of production for twelve months. Consequently in the exchange between the industrialist and the farmer the latter has always been and will always be at a disadvantage.

A nation condemned to permanent specialisation in farming is doomed to be a nation of hewers of wood and drawers of water, no matter what improvements may be effected in productive and marketing efficiency by the farmer. In periods of food scarcity, such as war, the farmer comes into his own. But he cannot look forward to any permanent quasi-scarcity of food. There are vast fertile continents awaiting development—Africa, Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Canada. *The farmer's only hope is to be part of an industrial nation which, in its home market, can in effect offer him a "share-out" with his industrialist fellow-clansman.* That "share-out" is refused in England, but England is a most exceptional country. In France, Switzerland and other European countries, and even in America the principle is recognised that the value of Agriculture cannot be tested on the narrow basis of productive efficiency alone.

Ireland's hope then rests in making the greatest possible effort and in carrying the heaviest possible burden to promote industrialisation. It will not come by "letting things slide." We are much too late in the industrial race for Micawber-like

policies. And just as the farmer is willing to slave to make his son a doctor, the farming community should be willing to assume similar burdens (with a little mutual compulsion) in order that the children of their community should have a joint industrial career before them.

While postulating this, I would like to point out that the farming community (which comprises the bulk of the nation) carries little or no burden as far as present industrial protection is concerned. The non-agricultural section pays approximately 75 per cent. of the taxes. Out of the 25 per cent. paid by the agriculturists much is returned in the shape of various subsidies, remission of rates, old age pensions, etc. As far as tariffed articles are concerned, there has been no increase in price (and therefore no burden) in blankets, margarine and woollens. I am assured that neither has any increase been made in the prices of agricultural boots. The revenue duties raised on ladies' clothes and shoes, etc., have made possible the abolition of the duty on the farmer's tea and have enabled the beet-growing industry to be indirectly subsidised through the sugar factory.

I am not trying to suggest that the non-agriculturalist is the real victim. The farmer is undoubtedly having a thin time of it, but agricultural poverty is due, not to tariff burdens, but to the inherent poverty of agriculture itself, intensified by unnecessary inefficiency in this country.

Nor must I be taken as a blind advocate of tariffs. I am quite aware that the tariff weapon requires very careful handling. Nor am I attempting in this brief comment to advocate *any* particular details of policy. The problem is very complex and very difficult. Those directly responsible for national affairs are entitled to all our sympathy. I am confining myself to a mere statement of the general principle that all our energies should be biassed in the direction of industrialisation, as England's were in the past—with this difference however, that we, like France and Germany, should recognise that agriculture is entitled to its place in the clan as a permanent and favoured member, and in addition that all leaders of private enterprise should have to regard themselves, not as privileged self-seekers, but as trustees to the community.

If we accept the premise (which I am not ready to do) that the Saorstát is too small a community to have an approximately all-round economic development, the only practical alternative is Lord Beaverbrook's "Empire Free Trade," with mutual responsibilities and privileges between the Irish farmer and the

English industrialist. I do not think, however, that the proposal will enthuse either the English or the Irish.

In any case, as I have said before, I do not believe that the technicians and experts are ever going to play a primary part in the solution of fundamental national problems. The intuitions of the community at large will override, and probably in the long run prove more expert, than the reasonings of the technical experts. From reading Professor O'Brien's book on *The Economic Effects of the Reformation* I would expect both of us to have the same intuitive angle of approach to these problems—but there you are!

JOHN BUSTEED.

No. 2—BY HENRY KENNEDY, M.A., D.SC.

Secretary of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society

THESE comments will be confined to a consideration of the low output per acre and per worker to which the Statistical Survey under review calls attention.

In comparing the agriculture of Saorstát Éireann with systems prevailing in other European countries and above all with conditions obtaining in the Scandinavian countries with which we are in competition, the outstanding fact is that agriculture in this country is only slowly emerging from extensive to intensive exploitation. Something not far removed from prairie farming is prevalent over most of the pasture areas, whether the farmer be occupied with dairying or with the grazing of beef cattle. A short period of intensive productivity corresponding to the period of natural growth is followed by a long unproductive period. Worse still—in the winter months, owing to lack of adequate supplies of winter feeding stuffs, stock suffer severely in condition, so that they have much leeway to make up before they can take full advantage again of the natural pasture. It is true, therefore, that with regard to bovine stock during the winter there is not merely stagnation, but retrogression.

Taking the country as a whole, it is, in the writer's opinion, the lack of winter production which has to be remedied if output per worker or per acre is to be increased. The problem with regard to winter dairying was recently put by the writer at a Students' Meeting as a suggestion that their attention might be directed towards the solution of the following puzzle: The Scandinavian countries, with far greater severity of winter climate, with on the average far less fertility of soil and far less natural advantage in pasture, produce dairy products intensively

during the winter. Concentrated foods—whether home-grown or imported—cost no more here than there. Why then is it so generally assumed that winter production of dairy products in this country is impossible, and why is the whole machinery of production allowed to lie dormant for several months of the year ?

In seeking a solution of this problem, eliminating the factors affecting production which are alike, one is driven to two points where improvement is very essential. The first is the basic raw material—namely, the roughage. In so far as this consists of roots, there is no problem ; but it is undoubtedly true that a good deal of the hay provided for winter feed is of inferior quality—mainly as a result of our fickle weather conditions. It is somewhat of a paradox that, in this country so wonderfully endowed by nature as a pasture land, much of the preserved pasture in the form of hay should be of such indifferent quality. In the writer's view the new knowledge of the value of grass, of its fertilising and preservation, particularly on the lines of silage preservation under conditions to suit the small farmer's pocket, gives great hope for the future. Recent work in this connection at Glasnevin seems to indicate the possibility of considerable production of winter milk by a better use and a more rational preservation of pasture grass associated with the use of home-grown grains. The second point essential for improvement is the dissemination of more knowledge of the nutrition of the dairy cow. In this respect we are, it is to be feared, far behind our Continental rivals. Progress, however, is being made through the Cow-testing Associations, and it is becoming more widely recognised that the feeder is oftener at fault than the cow.

It may at this moment, with the world collapse in the price of primary commodities, seem unduly bold to hazard an advocacy of winter dairying, but it seems to the writer to be essential if the winter dormancy of Irish farming is to be changed. Its development would, provided the essentials referred to above were present, have a very favourable effect on winter employment, on the growth of winter production in the ancillary industries of pig and poultry products, and it would especially in the tillage areas provide a profitable means of disposing of surplus crops. Winter dairying can, however, only be entered into with hope of success by a farming community prepared to take pains and above all to use the scales at both ends—the feed end and the yield end.

The Scandinavian countries, notwithstanding the tremendous

growth of dairying in the southern hemisphere, continue to increase winter output. Experiments, with accurate costings, made in the light of modern nutrition knowledge seem desirable to put the problem in this country beyond the region of guesswork. HENRY KENNEDY.

No. 3—BY DR. JAMES RYAN, T.D.

I CANNOT agree with many of the conclusions drawn by Dr. O'Brien. He states that the best hope for the future lies in an improvement in the dairying industry both on the productive and marketing sides. The total output of milk in 1926 was 527,000,000 gallons. This year the average price of milk is likely to be 1½d. per gallon less than in 1926. Agricultural output, other things being equal, will thus be reduced by £3,293,000. This means a reduction of 5·8 per cent. in the total net agricultural output. The improvement in production necessary to counteract this loss would be the conversion of our cows from a milk yield of 487 gallons per year to 647. Even under the provisions of the Live Stock Breeding Act such an improvement could not be expected within a quarter of a century. Big improvement in marketing is impossible, as Dr. O'Brien points out later. "The price of the things which the farmer has to sell is however fixed, in the case of a country producing largely for export, by causes over which neither he nor the government of his country has any control."

Dr. O'Brien writes that the granting of a subsidy on the growing of wheat cannot be justified on the ground of agricultural output. In the year under review (1926) the output per acre for wheat was £4 16s. 0d., and the output per acre not under wheat was £4 12s. 0d. Is it not obvious that an extension of wheat even under present conditions would increase agricultural output? In 1926 the output represented only 42 per cent. of production, the greater proportion of the produce being fed to animals. Under a wheat subsidy scheme this percentage would be easily raised to 75, because the guaranteed price would induce farmers to sell all their milling wheat for human consumption and not feed it to live stock, as they have been doing. The output of an acre of wheat would then stand at £8 11s. 0d. Compare with this £4 12s. 0d. for all other output, and remember this figure must be reduced by 5·8 per cent. on account of the slump in butter prices. Dr. O'Brien is doubtful if the scheme

would increase rural employment. The figures of costings supplied by the Department of Agriculture to the Economic Committee showed that the manual labour required to produce our own wheat would cost £1,999,000. Whether this money is to go towards additional employment or to supplement the earnings of those already employed in agriculture is immaterial. He further states that, if we were curtailed in our wheat supply during war, we could grow our own cereals. If such an emergency were to arise, the Government would probably seize all available wheat for seed; they would have to seize all next year's crop for seed for the following year; and after three years we should have our full requirements produced here. By that time the war might be over, or our requirements might be reduced through famine.

Having said so much on wheat, Dr. O'Brien writes that he has no intention of discussing the proposed wheat subsidy. He refers his readers to the Majority Report of the Economic Committee, to see how he and the other signatories shattered the proposal. I, as one of the signatories of the Minority Report, would welcome an impartial study of both reports by any intelligent reader of *Studies*.

Dr. O'Brien states that the prices of the things they have to buy are to some extent under the control of the farmers themselves. Under the present Government, whose policy Dr. O'Brien has so gallantly endeavoured to defend, farmers have to purchase wheat, maize and feeding stuffs, all from foreign producers at foreigners' own prices. They would, under an enlightened system, produce these things for themselves.

Dr. O'Brien refers to the unlimited market that England presents for our producer. Take our large dairying industry. Milk and milk products were disposed of as follows:—

Fed to Live Stock	10·5 per cent.
Consumed by producers	46 per cent.
,, ,, urban population of Saorstát	19·9 per cent.
Exported	23·6 per cent.

This export could be immediately reduced to 19 per cent., if the importation of foreign milk products were prohibited. Surely this surplus, which is being exported at present, could be absorbed by our own people if they had the purchasing power provided by a revival of industrial and agricultural industry. In support of this I might quote from the Report. It tells us that each Saorstát agriculturalist consumed £12 14s. 0d. per head per

annum of Saorstát agricultural produce, each Saorstát urban dweller £10, and each person in Great Britain 13s. Further it says: "The average townsman in the Saorstát is incomparably a better customer of the Saorstát agriculturalist than the townsman in Great Britain." What would this publication have disclosed if all our townspeople were in remunerative employment? If such were the case and the agriculturalists were finding a steady and a good market for their produce, would they not also be able to buy from the manufacturers? Such a condition would remove the situation on which Dr. O'Brien comments. "It would appear that the market provided by the agricultural population of the Free State is abnormally small—a matter of importance in considering a policy of industrial protection." It is not to be taken for granted that protection raises the cost of living. The *Economist* of April 1930 gives figures showing that retail prices in England fell ten points from 1925 to 1929, while prices in the Saorstát fell fourteen points.

Having paid numerous tributes to the policy of the present Government and having done homage to the doctrine of Free Trade, Dr. O'Brien declines to offer any solution for a revival of our industries, which he admits to be imperative. This is disappointing from a Professor of National Economics. The facts are that we have the resources to supply most of our needs—in particular the necessaries of food, clothing and housing. We have producers—to wit, the unemployed—willing and anxious to produce. We have consumers crying out for the necessaries to consume. We cannot get production unless it be made economic. It can only be made economic by a guarantee of the home market. Why not try protection on our industries now that other methods have failed? We shall then have a steady, remunerative and if necessary a protected market for our agricultural produce. The agriculturalists in turn will be enabled to buy from the towns the products of their factories. If the "sterling exchange standard" is an impediment, let us get rid of it. Everybody will then be gainfully occupied. Everybody will contribute to taxation, and the present taxpayers will be relieved of a certain share of the burden. Our economic aim should be to give the maximum of comfort to all our people.

SEAMAS O RIAIN.

No. 4—BY CONNELL BOYLE, M.A., PH.D.

Professor of Agriculture, University College, Cork

Dr. O'Brien has rendered a valuable service in drawing attention to the most recent publication of the Statistics Branch of the Department of Industry and Commerce. The statistics collected together in this pamphlet, together with those in previous publications from the same source, should do much to stimulate clear thinking on agricultural questions and thus point the way along which future agricultural development should take place.

One of the main problems with which the State is confronted at the moment is that of providing employment for its increasing population, and in this connection the hope for the future is usually considered to lie in more intensive agriculture together with the development of manufacturing industries. A more intensive agriculture implies, among other improvements, a considerable increase in the area devoted to tillage crops—a development which is usually assumed to lead to increased employment.

The statistics contained in a previous report show that we have the lowest percentage of ploughed agricultural land of any country in Europe. Comparison of the ploughed area and the density of population in various counties in the Irish Free State show, contrary to expectations, that there is little correlation between them. County Limerick, for example, with the lowest percentage of ploughed land in the Free State (4.8 per cent.), has a rural population of 143 persons per 1,000 acres of crops and pasture, while County Wexford, with the third highest percentage of ploughed land (23·3 per cent.), has a rural population of only 130 persons per 1,000 acres of crops and pasture. From these statistics it would appear that the existing rural population is capable of dealing with any extension in the area devoted to tillage crops which is likely to take place for many years to come, so that an increase of tillage, however desirable from other points of view, will not solve the problem of finding employment for our expanding population.

The value of the average output per worker in agriculture in the Free State is shown in the Report to compare very unfavourably with that in Northern Ireland, England and Wales, Scotland, and Denmark, and Dr. O'Brien draws the conclusion that the standard of living of agricultural workers in the Free State must be lower than in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and much lower than in Denmark. Standards of living in different

countries are notoriously difficult to compare; but in so far as the consumption of wholesome agricultural produce may be regarded as a criterion, the standard of living in the Free State compares very favourably with that of the countries mentioned. The consumption of butter per person per annum in the Free State is quoted as 38 lbs., compared with 16 lbs. in Great Britain and 12 lbs. in Denmark; the consumption of milk is 30 gallons per person per annum in the Free State as compared with 23 gallons in Great Britain and 19 gallons in Denmark. (The Danes choose to export their butter and use a cheaper substitute—margarine, of which they consume 46 lbs. per head per annum).

There can be no doubt but that under the existing system of agriculture the output is capable of considerable expansion. Our tillage crops are, on the whole, reasonably well cared, and the yield per acre compares favourably with production elsewhere. Our pastures however are comparatively neglected, notwithstanding the fact that numerous experiments have shown that money expended on their improvement is a good investment.

It is the improvement of our livestock, however, which offers the greatest scope for increasing our agricultural output. The average yield of our dairy cattle is estimated at 487 gallons per annum compared with 654 for Denmark. Situated, as we are, in close proximity to an apparently insatiable market for livestock and livestock products, the dairying industry must be the sheet-anchor of our agricultural system. Any improvement in the dairying industry must be accompanied by an improvement in the related cattle and pig industries and also in the poultry industry.

While these improvements will certainly lead to an increase in the value of the output of the agricultural worker, they will not necessarily lead to any considerable increase in employment. The chief hope of finding employment for our developing population appears to lie in the direction of the establishment of manufacturing industries. That such a development would have a very beneficial effect on our agriculture is shown by the fact that, while each person in Great Britain and Northern Ireland consumes only 13s. worth of Irish Free State agricultural produce, each Free State non-agriculturalist consumes £10 worth. It is obvious, therefore, that the development of industry in the Free State would benefit agriculture very considerably, and it would consequently seem reasonable that the farmer should contribute towards that development. Care must be taken, however, to ensure that he is not asked to contribute on such

a scale as would hamper the development of his own industry along its most profitable lines. C. Boyle.

No. 5—by senator richard a. butler

Chairman of the Irish Farmers' Union

In the foregoing article Dr. O'Brien, with his usual clearness, deals with some of the problems affecting agriculture. From the farmer's point of view I have been asked to comment on them.

Reference is made to the Report on the agricultural output of Saorstát Eireann 1926-27, in which the value of the average production per worker is given as £96. It is difficult to understand this figure. The population of the rural districts in Saorstát Eireann may be taken to be somewhat about 2,000,000. This same Report gives the number occupied in agriculture as 672,129 workers. This really means that one out of every three persons in the rual areas is engaged in agriculture. While this may be correct, I think that it will be found on closer examination that the figure of 672,129 includes many who are only engaged part-time in agriculture, and that if the output were reckoned on the basis of whole-time workers it would be found that the output per worker was greater than £96.

Various methods of improvement are suggested. One is that of better marketing. Much has been done in recent years in improving the quality of farm products, and further improvement will no doubt be effected. As the writer very truly states, the farmer has no control over prices, which are regulated by world conditions. This has been exemplified in the case of butter, which has recently declined in price, and as a result farmers supplying milk to creameries are likely to find their returns for milk decreased by at least 20 per cent.

It is also suggested that the milk yield per cow might be improved. No doubt this is possible, but it must be remembered that there is a limit in this direction, and also that an increased yield does not necessarily mean an increased profit to the extent of the extra yield. Many practical farmers will not agree with the contention that high milk yields can be obtained without damage to the production of beef.

By means of the Live Stock Act much improvement has been effected in the cattle of Saorstát Eireann, mainly by the elimination of unsuitable bulls; but there is a danger that this improvement may be neutralised to some extent by breeding from unsuitable cows. At the moment this prevails only to a small

per cent. of the whole; but if the practice continues, the results will be more evident in the course of some years.

When Dr. O'Brien refers to the question of the cost of production, he is dealing with a subject which very much affects the farmer. Even here much is beyond his control. One item is the cost of freight both on land and on sea. Railway freights and port to port charges are about 100 per cent. above pre-war charges. This increase appears very large when contrasted with freights charged from distant ports to Great Britain, which have not increased in anything like the same proportion.

Another item in which there has been a large increase is that of local taxation, and here the increase is from two to three times greater since the passing of the Local Government Act of 1897. These rates show a tendency to increase, and a further increase will take place if the Vocational Education Bill in its present form reaches the Statute Book. Owing to the system whereby local rates are levied, these bear very heavily on those engaged in agriculture as compared with those in other occupations. A system can hardly be considered equitable under which an individual earning £1,000 a year and living on premises valued, say, at £17, pays about the same local rates as a farmer with a similar valuation and having an earning power of from £1 to £2 a week. Numerous instances such as this can be found in the rural areas.

This may possibly be looked on by some as a difficult matter to remedy, but a way out can be found by relieving, to a large extent, the farmer of the burden of the local rates. This has been the plan adopted in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, with much advantage to the farmers resident in these countries.

Previous to the passing of the Land Act, 1881, the idea of most of the governing class in this country seemed to be, as far as agriculture was concerned, that the farmer ought to be well satisfied with his position, no matter how low his standard of living. Although landlordism, as such, has ceased to exist, this same mental outlook still prevails, and may be found to a considerable extent in the towns and, to a smaller extent, in the Civil Service.

In other directions many changes have taken place in recent years in Saorstát Eireann, and in the interests of the State it is desirable that it should be generally recognised that the future prosperity of this country depends on the well-being of agriculture.

R. A. Butler.

THE CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

BY T. CORCORAN, S.J., D.LITT.
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THAT "the good school is the result of good teachers" may well be considered the central affirmation within the comprehensive Apostolic letter *On Christian Education* issued from the Vatican Palace on the last day of that most momentous year, 1929. Control and direction of the training of teachers, professional and general, has always been the chief practical aim of the secularist forces in Europe and America. To manipulate both the theoretical and the practical work of professional preparation for school work they have constantly striven ever since the destructive confiscations of educational foundations, caused by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, placed the State in the position to dictate policies in education through the power of the purse. That great upheaval, operative all over historic Europe for a quarter of a century, for the first time gave the neutral or secularised school a place within Christian peoples. This dual result of the Revolution is fully active in 1921—1930, as a survey of the school question, in America as well as in Europe, will rapidly make clear. In France the plan originated by Quinet, developed in the positivism of Comte, Jules Ferry, Paul Bert, and Ferdinand Buisson, has taken definitive direction of all State instruction through the professional teaching of Durkheim, Lapie, and Paul Fauconnet. The entire Primary training system of the French State was given one distinctive trend, that of sociological materialism, by their sustained policy, a policy which attained its final form in the years 1918—1924. That distinctive professional formation is now so well set within the ninety Training Colleges of Republican

France that no Minister of Public Instruction could alter its character, even if he desired to do so. The official doctrinalism on education, pervading all State Primary Schools, but no longer controllable by the State, has given France to-day a highly coherent body of teachers, deliberately disciplined for secularism and materialism in all school activities, and provided with a strong front line of Communism.

That the teacher and the training of the teacher is also at the centre of the still unsolved issue of Education in post-war Germany, is made clear by the repeated public statements of such men as Dr. Wilhelm Marx, lately Chancellor of the Republic, a position which he combined with that of active leader of the Catholic School Organisation for the Reich. " Catholic teachers for all Catholic children in the schools " has been Dr. Marx's invariable call to action, defensive and constructive alike, during the past ten years. The effort to impose on Catholic pupils a new corps of teachers, trained on secularist lines and taught on other than Catholic principles, has been effectively stayed ; the action of the Church in Germany, repeatedly declared since the adoption of the Weimar Constitution, makes it evident that this is the central issue in the legislative interpretation of its clauses concerning public education. The historic *missio canonica*, given by the Church to teachers since that great era of educational construction 1150—1250 A.D., redefined in the 16th century, has emerged as the distinctive sign of the commissioned Catholic teacher in Republican Germany. It is not to be accorded save to teachers trained on Catholic lines, thus excluding the product of the new Professional Academies for Training organised on other principles.

There is no need to stress the plain facts that have characterised Catholic action concerning education in many other regions during the last ten years. They all alike centre round the Catholicity, the fit training, the due Catholic commission of the teacher. Witness what

is passing in the Six Counties of North Eastern Ireland, no less than in England and in Scotland, this Spring of 1930. Witness, too, the situations well-known to exist within Austria, within Bohemia, or in Italy, in Holland, in Spain. The Catholic peoples of Europe, and in no less degree, those of America, have become fully alert to the vital significance of the Catholic training and education of the Catholic teacher, who alone is fitted to teach Catholic pupils. The very same issue, in even acute and urgent forms, presents itself to Catholic missionary forces abroad, as in China and India, and in the large areas of Africa under English administration.

The course of Catholic action in this international field of work has, on the whole, been one of great promise during the years since 1918—19. If hostile forces were active, even at times and in certain places successful in seizing this key-position of directive control in education, the Church too can contemplate with substantial satisfaction her bands of " teachers who are thoroughly prepared and well-grounded in the matter they have to teach; who possess the intellectual and moral qualities required by their important office, who cherish the children confided to them, because they love Jesus Christ and His Church, of which these are the beloved charge; and who *therefore* have sincerely at heart the true good of families and of nations." These words of Pius XI. are at once followed up by the declaration of his " consolation and gratitude on seeing, side by side with religious men and women engaged in teaching, vast numbers of excellent lay teachers, powerful for Catholic action." " More such workers," the Apostolic Letter adds, " are needed in the field of Christian education; let their formation be one of the principal concerns " of the pastoral office.

That formation, as Pope Pius XI. affirms in the terms used by Pope Leo XIII. in 1878, must be not only fully Catholic in all that concerns literature and science, but also most especially in Philosophy. " From Philosophy

derives the principle of right ordering in all other branches of knowledge." Parallel to the efforts of anti-Christian forces to seize and convert to their own uses the key-positions of the world of public education, ever since the epoch 1787—1815, there has been a corresponding effort on the part of false philosophies of education, capable of deforming, denaturing, perverting the whole professional mentality and action of teachers. Every such school, from those of Kant and Fichte, Herbart and Froebel, to those of Comte and Spencer, James and Natorp, Dewey and Durkheim, has endeavoured to give its Philosophy an outlet into the world of constructive action by operating through the principles and methods, and on the aims and norms of education. Within the period of Rationalism and Materialism as dominant influences in European and American thought, all these leading Philosophies of Education have, each in its own centres of action, infected the whole content of important courses of training. In many places, two, three, or more of these leading systems, and other systems of Educational theory and practice, besides, have been temporarily fused into varying forms of professional study for teachers, primary or secondary.

No less than false doctrines in Psychology, false doctrines on ethical issues spread their poison into wide areas of Method, and effectually pervert the practical work of the teacher with a class. Even more penetrating are the results of errors concerning the Aims of Education, both individual and social. So, too, the rationalistic period, extending over the latter half of the last century, wherein Religion was to be banished from education, and relegated to the home and the church, has been followed by the more dangerous policy of the Sociological School, that of Durkheim, Levy-Brühl, and Fauconnet. In its system of propaganda, Religion is an interesting natural process, rather primitive and uncivilised, having its origins in the savage residual practices of humanity. Closely akin

to this subtle device of the degradation of Religion in Education is the doctrine of Gentile, widely diffused in Italy since 1923. Its nature has been aptly summarised by an acute secularist writer, Dr. N. Hans, in his recent survey of contemporary principles of Educational Policy. " According to the theory of education propounded by Gentile, the Roman Catholic form of religion is a necessary stage of evolution in the Italian character. Therefore, this particular creed should be taught in all State Schools. But, as the next stage in the evolution process should be the Hegelian philosophy in Secondary schools and in Universities the dogmatic teaching of the Roman Catholic Church should be superseded by the idealistic philosophy."

This pointed description recalls the policy propounded to the National Congress of German teachers by Adolf Harnack in the period preceding the European War, and pressed into action by all the persuasive powers of himself and of his followers. Traditional forms of religious instruction—Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Hebrew—accord with the immaturity and uncritical condition of childhood, and are suitable for the years up to 12. As reason then becomes active, but is for some years unsure in its action, all education in Religion should be omitted between 12 years and 16 years of age. After that stage, real judgments are feasible, and religious instruction should be conducted on the basis of the Higher Criticism and of Comparative Religion. So, too, the denunciation of all educative use of the doctrine of merit—natural or supernatural—by Kant was fully operative in the educational theory of Fichte and Froebel, and obtains among their followers to-day. Thus, on October 12, 1926, E. R. Murray, Secretary of the National Froebel Society, reminded readers of the London *Times* how in 1826 Froebel affirmed that " We ought to elevate and strengthen human nature. But we degrade and weaken it when we use even the highest external incentive to a worthy life, when we seek to lead it to good conduct by means of a bait—yes,

even if this bait is reward in a future life." One is reminded of a more recent system of education, which declares that "the problem of religious education should be solved by positive pedagogy," and holds that "prizes and punishments are instruments of slavery for the spirit."

There is ample evidence that the intrusion of those false Philosophies into the formative teaching of Training Courses for Catholic teachers, is a danger that needs to be specially guarded against. One of the greatest services that the careful study of the Apostolic Letter of December 31, 1929 will prove to have rendered to the Christian formation of teachers is the series of clear warnings against these perverse tendencies. Such departures from the sound teaching of Catholic tradition are often deliberate and aggressive, as in the French secularists, Kantians, and materialists from Janet and Compayré to the school of Albert Bayet. Our Divine Lord's express teaching in the Gospels is often openly attacked by such writers, as embodying a low grade of morality. That type of criticism is so crude and gross in its derisive offensiveness that any Catholic student of education is at once alert to its significance. More perilous is the writer on education who can with versatile irresponsibility draw ideals at one time from Darwin and Nietzsche, at another from St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, and so manage to propound what is indeed "a new morality" in relation to the training of Catholic teachers, and their education of Catholic children in our Catholic schools.

It is precisely here, then, that Pope Pius XI. has furnished the sovereign safeguard of definite and comprehensive warning. To the open scoffers against Christian standards of morals in education, as being of inferior standard, below the level of the schools of Idealism, only briefer reference was required.

What is intended by not a few is the withdrawal of education from every sort of dependence on the Divine Law. To-day we

see a strange sight indeed. *Educators and Philosophers* spend their lives in searching for a Universal Moral Code of Education, as if there existed no Decalogue, no Gospel Law, no Law even of Nature, stamped by God on the hearts of men, promulgated by right reason, and codified in positive revelation by God Himself in the ten Commandments. These innovators are wont to refer with contempt to Christian Education as 'heteronomous,' 'passive,' 'obsolete,' because founded upon the authority of God and on His Holy Law . . . . They make the child the slave of his own blind pride and of his disordered affections, which in this false system are logically justified as the lawful needs of his so-called 'autonomous' nature.

But to the rectification of other and more insidious infiltrations of philosophical error into Christian education more detailed attention is needed. These errors are traced back to the implicit disregard of the truth that "there remains in human nature the effects of original sin, and chiefly the resultant weakness of will and disordered inclinations." Hence it follows that correction and its consequences are essential in education, and that the true Christian teacher must, like the great Teacher, "speak as one having authority." There is no room for the naturalistic principle that the teacher is to be reduced to the function of an "observer," or for the doctrine that the freedom of the pupil ought to be given "unlimited expansion," leaving him "free and untrammelled." On the contrary, the teaching of the Apostolic Letter on Education utterly reprobates "pedagogic naturalism," and sets aside any "naturalistic concept of man." The reasons are explicitly stated :—

> Every method of education founded, wholly or in part, on the denial or forgetfulness of original sin and of grace, and relying on the sole powers of nature, is unsound. Such, generally speaking, are those modern systems bearing various names, which appeal to a pretended *self-government and unrestrained freedom* on part of the child, and which *diminish, or even suppress the teacher's authority and action*, attributing to the child an exclusive primacy of initiative and an activity independent of any higher law, natural or divine, in the work of his education.

With significant emphasis the text of the Old Testament is recalled, which affirms that "Folly is bound up in the heart of a child, and the rod of correction shall drive it away." Any other policy "abuses the trust which children place in their teachers, and takes unfair advantage of their inexperience and of their natural craving for liberty, at once illusory and false."

A true system of education and of training for Catholic teachers, who are to be commissioned to work in Catholic schools, must be based on an explicit and comprehensive knowledge and acceptance of man's whole being, "soul united to body in unity of nature, with all his faculties, natural and supernatural, such as right reason *and* revelation show him to be." Any claim that the basis can be "a naturalistic concept," "a naturalistic study" of man must be rejected as false. Even more false is it that on such a basis there can be founded "a sort of ethical guide, lending towards the perfectionment of human nature," a doctrine expressly repudiated in the recent Apostolic Letter. Any morality based on such foundation would be "a new morality" indeed; for it would, as one pretentious system professes to-day to achieve, find the source of morality in "physiological determinism." On the contrary, the teacher must by authoritative direction secure that the child's mind be "enlightened and the will strengthened by supernatural truths and by the means of grace." The spiritual life of the child is essentially the chief care in Catholic education. A Theory and Practice of Education that does not contemplate the due function of that spiritual life cannot be fit for Catholic use. Inevitably, therefore, the Apostolic Letter demands, to cite its own words, "Catholic education in Catholic schools for all Catholic youth."

Work on such lines is, on the supreme authority of the Vicar of Christ, declared to be "an important task of Catholic Action." This affirmation leads directly to the need of transferring and translating the Catholic training

and principles of the Catholic teacher into real action within the Catholic classroom. It is a pleasure to see the lines of such transference recalled to the attention of the Catholic education of to-day, in the luminous language of Pope Leo XIII. cited by Pius XI. Addressed thirty-three years ago to the Church in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland—countries where "mixed education" menaced the entire concept of the Catholic school, the words of Leo XIII. are full of lessons for the Catholic educator in the Catholic classroom. They may here be cited in even a fuller way than in the recent Letter of the Holy See, and they merit our attention in every clause.

> Instruction is full of danger when the religious element is nullified or even weakened. Let no one think that piety can be with impunity severed from teaching and instruction . . . It is essential not merely that youth be taught Religion at fixed hours, but that all the other subjects of their educational course should breathe in fullest measure the spirit of Christian piety. If that is lacking, if that hallowed Breath of Life does not thoroughly penetrate and energise the minds of teachers and of pupils alike, but little value will be derived from any branch of study; often even, the resultant losses will be considerable. The acquisition of many branches of Knowledge ought to have as its allied function the thorough development of mental power. But let Religion thoroughly dominate and inform every subject whatever of Instruction. (*Omnem autem disciplinam, quaevis denique ea sit, Religio penitus informet ac dominetur.*)

On the doctrinal side this Letter of 1897 restates and applies the teaching of Pope Pius IX. addressed on a famous and momentous occasion to Munich, in December, 1863:—

> Trustworthy development of the Sciences, their exposition, their utilisation, their verification, cannot be secured if the limited light of human reason, while engaged in exploring those bodies of truths which it attains by its own powers and energies, were not to hold in very great reverence (as is fitting) the unerring and uncreated light of Divine Intelligence. For though those branches of natural science rest upon their own special principles known by reason, yet Catholic workers therein ought to keep before their

eyes Divine Revelation as a Guiding Star, and by its light, shining ahead, avoid the quicksands of error.

On the side of the personal formation of the true Catholic teacher for every type of Catholic education, and on the side of the relation of Catholic thought to Catholic action, these two texts lead us back to the notable Letter of Pope Pius IX. addressed to the Irish Bishops in March, 1854. Made introductory to the Apostolic Foundation of the Catholic University of Ireland, this positive and directive teaching applies even more unreservedly to the Catholic Secondary School, the Catholic Primary School. The entire content of this masterly statement of Catholic truth in regard to Catholic education, no less than other contemporary and later pronouncements of the Holy See, make it clear that no approbation could ever accrue to " mixed " or " neutral " education for Catholic students any more than for Catholic children. The Bishops of Ireland are enjoined to

Take timely measures to ensure that the University shall fully correspond to the dignity and the inviolate character of the name CATHOLIC which adorns it. Let the most watchful care be exerted in providing that our Divine Religion shall be the soul of the entire academic education. Hence, the holy fear and reverence of God should be cherished and developed, the deposit of Faith be kept intact. Let all branches of Science expand in the closest alliance with religion, all types of study be enlightened by the bright rays of Catholic Truth, and the educative force of sound teaching be rigorously maintained. Whatever is uttered from the supreme See of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the entirely safe haven for the whole Catholic communion, the mother and mistress of all Churches, is to be believed and received as Catholic. Whatever differs from that teaching is to be vigorously and unflinchingly rejected. Let all errors, and all novelties from Secularist sources be repelled and cast out. Let the Professors of the University show themselves in all ways models of well-doing, alike in their teaching and in their integrity and dignity of life. They should have nothing more at heart than to fashion with all care the minds of young men to the practice of religion, to upright conduct, and

all virtuous dealing; and to educate them sedulously in letters and sciences according to the mind of the Church Catholic, the pillar and the guarantee of Truth.

On the lines set out so luminously in this sequence of Apostolic Letters, from December, 1929, back to March, 1854—and the chain of teaching goes back through the ages—the practical problems that confront a Catholic system of training for teachers may now be stated. On the basis of Catholic teaching in Ethics and Psychology, Metaphysics and Logic, Aesthetics and Sociology, the structural plan of Catholic Educational Theory must be raised. It can be filled in, with due precaution, from the scrutinised results of modern positive investigation. But, as most of these investigations are themselves inspired by one or more of the multitude of false philosophies of education, the scrutiny must be very close. For example, the results of almost every investigation conducted concerning " Transfer of Skill," from those of William James 1890, down to those of Thorndike, 1900—1917, are confessedly vitiated by the presupposed rejection of a spiritual soul and of its faculties. The prejudiced investigators in the United States Universities simply found what they wanted to find as the result of their miscalled " scientific experiments," every one of which set at defiance every elementary rule of scientific investigation. Even more significant is the fact that " Tests of Intelligence," devised and applied in the United States since 1917, have ended in vague platitudes. Confessedly the investigators do not know what they are " testing," and do not know what the numerical results they claim to attain, do or can really mean. They are reduced to such avowals as that " Intelligence Tests test what they test," and that " Intelligence is what is tested and estimated by our Intelligence Tests."

Even more essential is the application of the integral Catholic Theory of Education to the examination of the aberrant Philosophies of Education, from the epoch of

Kant and Rousseau to that of James and of Durkheim. The teacher who has the supreme duty of carrying out the Christian Education of Catholic children will approach the examination of such philosophies only when well equipped in all branches of the *philosophia perennis* of Catholic tradition applied to the Theory and Practice of Education. The task of the intellectual refiner must be thoroughly done at the furnace of applied Catholic Truth.

When this process of academic equipment is completed, it will remain to transfer its living content into action in the teaching of the Catholic classroom, and into the moral and intellectual, the aesthetic and the integrally Christian culture which moulds the entire human being, nothing at all excepted, for Catholic Action. Here, the diverse yet most orderly and comprehensive content of the recent Apostolic Letter will be a sure guide to the College Principal and the School Manager, no less than to the Class Teacher. The school chapel, the classroom altar will be the powerhouse of Catholic education within the Catholic school. Power will be transmitted from that centre of energy over the closely textured cable of Religious Instruction—dogmatic, moral, historical, scriptural, liturgical. It will be distributed in various ways, according to subjects, according to types of education, according to the age and outlook of students. But for the realisation of Catholic education the power of Catholic truth, supernatural in its whole content, must penetrate every branch of study. Here the teaching of Pope Pius XI. 1929, using the words of Pope Leo XIII, 1878, are a perfect summary for the Catholic educator. "Bring into full conformity with the Catholic faith all that is taught in literature, in sciences, and above all in philosophy."

T. Corcoran.

DOMNAL O'SULLIVAN BEAR AND HIS FAMILY IN SPAIN

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IN a prominent place in the refectory of the Irish College of Salamanca hangs the life-sized portrait of a noble cavalier. As the cross on the breast shows, he was a Knight of Santiago, once the most prized of the Spanish Military Orders. The figure is partly in armour, with the plumed helmet resting on the tapestried bench at the side. Towards the top right-hand corner are the arms of the O'Sullivans, whilst across the top of the portrait runs the legend : *O'Sullevanus Bearrus Bearrae et Beantriae Comes Aetatis suae LIII Christi vero Domini M.DC.XIII Anno.* It is a contemporary portrait of Domnal O'Sullivan Bear, the great O'Sullivan—as he is called in the *Catholic History*—who, after a desperate defence of his castles and territories, led that forlorn retreat from Kerry to Sligo which has made him one of the heroic figures in Irish history.

How does this portrait come to be in the possession of the Irish College of Salamanca ? Why does it occupy such a prominent place on its walls ? The answers to these two questions I have found in a bulky portfolio of documents in the College Archives. These documents relate, for the most part, to the family of O'Sullivan Bear after its arrival in Spain. Besides the facts contained therein, I have been able to glean other facts about the O'Sullivans from various Spanish sources. Many of these, now published for the first time, will probably be of interest to Irish readers.

At the time of the Battle of Kinsale (January, 1602) the O'Sullivan family consisted of four persons : Domnal O'Sullivan Bear, his wife Eileen O'Sullivan Mór, and his two sons—Domnal, aged about ten, and Dermot, aged

something over three years. It will be remembered that the elder boy, in company with the sons of a number of other Irish noblemen, had already been sent to Spain as a hostage; for the Irish chiefs had thrown off their allegiance to Queen Elizabeth and acknowledged the Spanish monarch as their liege lord.

Lady O'Sullivan and her younger son had to be abandoned at the time of the retreat to Breffny. In the *Catholic History* we read that, during her husband's campaigns after Kinsale, she and other noble ladies had been living concealed *in saltibus et montium jugis.* About 1603, having committed her son Dermot to the care of friends at Solochoid, she escaped to Spain. Two years later Dermot joined her in Spain.

We do not know the manner or the precise date of the Chief's own journey to Spain; but we do know that he was in Spain by September, 1604; for in a document relating to the Irish College of Salamanca and given under date of September, 1604, at Valladolid, certain South of Ireland noblemen say of O'Sullivan: "He was forced to seek refuge at the Court of Philip to save his life." The *Catholic History* would seem to suggest that he had to fly immediately from England on failing to get terms from James I at the time the Irish chiefs were there in the summer of 1603.

It is scarcely possible to give even an approximate estimate of the number of Irish exiles in Spain at this period; but they were so many that some of the Spanish courtiers grew jealous of their numbers and of the amount spent on their "entertainment" (upkeep) by the Royal Exchequer. I have before me a document given in Vallodolid in the year 1606, in which the President of the (Royal) Council of Castile declares himself at his wits' end to lodge the numbers that were constantly flowing in on him, even until such time as they could be sent to Flanders, as had been ordered by the Council—for service there, I presume. Father Richard Conway, S.J., in a

letter (9 May, 1623) to a friend in Rome, gives some details of the generous manner in which the Irish exiles were received in Spain :—

> The [Royal] Council has fully discussed the question whether greater privileges should be extended to the Irish exiles than to the English Catholics [who also at this time flocked to Spain], and it was decided that they [the Irish] were worthy of them and that it was proper to assist them on every occasion ; for they had openly joined Spain in the defence of Catholicism in Ireland and had made war for many years on her declared enemies and had done them [the English] great damage, losing in the struggle their properties, titles and lives. They had also served his Catholic Majesty with fidelity, valour and strength in Flanders for many years and up to the present, and many are in the Royal Navy. . . . And so they have received many honours, titles, offices, pensions, donations and other favours not given to any Englishman or Scotchman.

The treatment accorded to O'Sullivan Bear and his family will enable us to form some idea of Spanish generosity and of the immense sums which were yearly spent on the hundreds of Irish exiles who found an asylum in Spain ; for he was only one of many whom the Spanish monarchs honoured with titles and endowed with pensions. O'Sullivan's standing as Chief of his clan, Prince of Bear and Bantry, was recognised, and King Philip conferred on him the corresponding Spanish title of Count—" Conde de Birhaven y Señor de los territorios de Bearra y Beantry." He was also created a Knight of the Military Order of Santiago, the most coveted honour in the gift of the Spanish King, and the same honour was conferred on both his sons. To enable him to live with the dignity proper to his rank he was first granted a monthly pension of 200 ducats, and on 27 October 1606 this was increased to 300 ducats. This was a princely pension ; for it was equal to about £3,000 of our pre-war currency. Spanish generosity, however, was not yet satisfied ; for on 28 August, 1607, one thousand ducats, to be paid annually out of the Spanish Treasury, were fixed on

O'Sullivan and his heirs for ever. This was done, as the grant itself states, " in consideration of the many services performed by him, and because he lost his property in defence of the Catholic Cause, and on account of his rank." He was to reside in the town of Valença, on the Portuguese-Galician frontier, and was placed under the immediate orders of the Viceroy of Galicia, the Marquis de Carracena —who, I may add, was a powerful and faithful friend of the Irish exiles.

In the year 1605 King Philip III had given another proof of his generosity towards the Irish exiles, when he established and endowed a Royal College in the University of Santiago for the education of their sons. The first Rector of this college was Father Eugene MacCarthy, a secular priest from the south-west of Ireland. I do not know what part the Prince of Bearra took in its foundation; but as long as it continued to fulfil its original purpose he seems to have exercised the function of a patron who had much influence at the Court. In the beginning the majority of the students, if not all, were sons of his relatives, vassals or friends, or of noblemen from the south of Ireland. These students were not educated exclusively for the priesthood; they were free to choose any secular profession. But a controversy soon arose between O'Sullivan and some Irish Jesuits then resident in Spain as to the advisability of converting the college into a seminary devoted exclusively to the education of priests for the Irish Mission. Fathers Richard Conway, Thomas White and the latter's nephew William White were ardent supporters of the change, which (they state in various documents) was urged by a number of Irish nobles then living in Spain. O'Sullivan and his friends were opposed to the change, alleging that the college was founded as a general University College and not as an Ecclesiastical Seminary. O'Sullivan argued that educated laymen were as necessary to the Catholic cause as an increased number of priests. The best way to

confirm the people in the faith was to ensure that their chiefs were good Catholics. England was acting on this principle and carried off the sons of the chiefs to have them educated in English Universities and brought up Protestants. Catholics should adopt the same policy, and hence the necessity of a college like Santiago, where young Catholic noblemen could be educated for the professions. O'Sullivan urged the need of laymen well versed in law, who would be able to meet on equal terms, in the parliament and in the law courts, the many Protestants turned out by the English Universities and by Trinity College, Dublin. It seems evident from this argument that O'Sullivan believed that the persecution would be short-lived or at least hoped for some relaxation of the penal code.

The controversy, carried on principally by memorials to the King and by letters to the Provincial of the Jesuits, lasted for years, even after the latter had got possession of the college. In 1611 the king decided to put the Jesuits in charge; but it was not until two years later (1613) that they actually succeeded in taking over the college—and even then not without "much opposition and noise." With their advent O'Sullivan, apparently, did not give up hope that the college would continue to fulfil the ends of its foundation; in fact he does not seem to have abandoned this hope as long as he lived. We have an autograph letter of his dated from Madrid (12 December 1614) and directed to the Provincial of the Jesuits, in which he raises the question as to what branches were to be studied and demands that students should be received for Humanities as well as for Arts (Philosophy). We have also copies of a later memorial to the king, in which he raises once more the whole question of the nature of the college. He petitions that students be received for Humanities as for Philosophy, that they be free to choose other careers than that of the priesthood, and be allowed to attend lectures in the University. As is the

custom, the memorial is not dated; but the counter-memorial of the Jesuits, which was apparently written immediately after, is dated 28 October 1617. Although the Fathers state in this reply that they "had taken some steps towards receiving young boys" for Humanities and were "looking out for means to support them," the college continued to be a seminary exclusively for ecclesiastical students.

In spite of this controversy O'Sullivan's relations with the authorities of the Salamanca College were friendly. In the early years he had an account with this college, and his name—Daniel O'Sullivan, Caballero irlandes, Señor de Beary—figures frequently in its ledger (*Libro de Cuentas personales*). At the beginning of January, 1607, Father Conway, by order of Father Archer, gave him 200 reales. This loan was returned by O'Sullivan to Fr. Archer in October of the same year. About the same time O'Sullivan gave an order, through the college, for some rich cloths embroidered with his coat of arms. Salamanca was then famous for its embroideries, and the memory of this fame is still preserved in the name of a street—Calle de Bordadores. The cloths made for O'Sullivan must have been splendid; for we find that, including carriage (an insignificant item), they cost the then large sum of 590 reales. This account was settled in May; but the year is not given. Later, O'Sullivan was in Salamanca to collect moneys due to himself and to some of his vassals, amongst whom was a Maurice Begley, who had a lawsuit against the Hospital of Olmedo. The suit was decided in his favour in July, 1608. Finally, O'Sullivan figures in the ledger as having sent to the college the sum of 90 reales which he had received in 1610 from Peter Porsel (Purcell), one of its benefactors and an Irish merchant then living in Bayona, Galicia.

Lady O'Sullivan also appears in these accounts. One item is that she owed a certain sum to the college; another entry credits her, in March, 1608, with having

sent to Father Conway 100 reales on account of Masses offered for her intention. In August, 1610, she still had an account with Fr. Conway, and finally she presented the college with a very valuable chasuble which cost no less than 233 reales.

These facts have a further interest for us in so much as they are independent evidence of the satisfactory financial condition of the family at the time. They are also evidence that O'Sullivan was not confined to Galicia during his life in Spain. We have seen that he was in Salamanca in 1608, in Madrid in 1614, and we shall see that he was there again in 1617. If the portrait, which seems to have been the work of a first-class artist, was painted in Madrid, then he must have been there also in 1613.

Another question with the Irish Jesuits arose concerning the possession of a house in Santiago. It was royal property, and both O'Sullivan and the Jesuits succeeded in getting a grant of it—the former for himself, the latter for the Irish College of Santiago. Thanks to the quickness and adroitness of Father Thomas White, the college managed to get possession of the palace in June, 1617. But O'Sullivan must have made good his prior claim soon after; for in the document of October 28th of that year already referred to, the statement is made that he " had ejected the seminary " from it. In August, 1618, scarcely a fortnight after O'Sullivan's death, this house was the subject of an agreement between his widow and son on the one hand and Father Richard Conway, representing the Irish College, on the other. The former made over to the latter the right to one-half of the arrears of salary due to the deceased in consideration of their being left in peaceful possession of the house, to which the college in return relinquished all claim.

This little dispute, like the former one already described, did not interfere with the good relations which existed between the O'Sullivans and the Irish College, as

is shown by a note preserved in its Archives. Dermot O'Sullivan had run short of money, and it was to the Irish Jesuit Father Michael de Morales (*alias* Cantwell) of the Irish College that he had recourse. The note states that the friend who acted as his banker was absent. Would Fr. de Morales be good enough to lend him 100 or 50 reales for his needs, until such time as his banker returned or until he received a remittance from his father. It is dated "de casa," 14 May 1618, and signed "Don Dermisio O'Sullevan y O'Brien." Raymundo Squidi, apparently Dermot's servant or attendant, gives at the foot of the note a receipt for 50 reales. This note, written in perfect Spanish and in a fair and legible hand, has other points of interest for us. As far as I know, it is the only autograph document of Dermot O'Sullivan which we possess. It also contains the last recorded reference to the distinguished Jesuit Father James Archer, Prefect or Superior-General of all the Irish Jesuit Colleges in Spain and Portugal. Finally, I call attention to Dermot's signature. There seems to have been nothing fixed about the spelling of the name "O'Sullivan"; the forms O'Sullivan, O'Sullevan and O'Solyban are found indifferently. Dermot uses O'Brien as his second name, whereas his mother's name was O'Sullivan Mór. Evidently, in order to avoid a repetition of "O'Sullivan," he takes the name of his paternal grandmother. We do not know if the remittance expected from his father ever arrived. If it did, it was probably the last communication from his father, for the latter was murdered within two months in Madrid.

How the last Prince of Bearra was murdered in the streets of Madrid is narrated in the *Catholic History* of his cousin and admirer, Philip, who was himself one of the principal actors in the events which led up to the tragedy. After recounting the death of O'Neill in 1616, "in whom the Catholics had placed great hopes," the author goes on to show how fatal the year 1618 had been to Irishmen. O'Cahan had died in the Tower of London. On the 2nd

of July six young Irish noblemen had lost their lives in the sea-battle in which the Spanish fleet was victorious over the Turks—amongst the victims being the historian's younger brother, Daniel, and a cousin, Philip O'Sullevan. "But," he continues, "the final stroke of evil fortune was that, on the 16th of the same month, O'Sullevan, Prince of Bearra, in whom the Irish had then their greatest hope, perished lamentably." He was murdered by John Bath, an Anglo-Irishman and a protégé of O'Sullivan, who sometimes invited him to his table.[1] In an altercation about money lent him by O'Sullivan, Bath had spoken insultingly to the Chief regarding the Irish and Anglo-Irish races. Philip, the historian, hearing this, sought out Bath and upbraided him for his ungrateful and disrespectful conduct. They both drew their swords. Bath was wounded in the face and would have been killed, if Edmond O'More and Gerald MacMoris (who had been sent for the purpose by Domnal O'Sullivan), as well as two Spanish knights, had not intervened. Amongst the many attracted by the quarrel was O'Sullivan himself, holding in his left hand his rosary and in his right hand his gloves. On seeing him, Bath, who was running away, rushed at him, without warning and unseen by O'Sullivan, and stabbed him first in the left arm and then mortally in the throat. Thus perished, on the 16 July 1618, at the age of 57, a great Catholic[2] and a great Irishman.

After the death of the last Prince of Bearra there

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[1] Probably there were two John Baths: one "the merchant of Drogheda," captain of the ship which carried O'Neill and O'Donnell in their flight from Ireland (1607), who afterwards turned informer and whose mother was "the widow of Sir William Warren" (*Fate and Fortunes of O'Neill and O'Donnell*, II. ed. p. 385 *note*); the other, the brother of the distinguished Fr. William Bath, S.J., whose mother was Eleanor Preston (*Distinguished Irishmen*, Hogan, p. 363). Of course, Fr. Bath's father may have been twice married. John Bath had been staying as a guest in the Irish College of Salamanca, and in 1608, through the influence of Fr. Archer, obtained a position under Prince de Esquilache.

[2] It was the practice of O'Sullivan to hear two or three Masses every day, to approach frequently the Sacraments, and to spend much time in daily prayer. On the day of his death he had heard two Masses.

remained only his widow and his son Dermot. Of the later life of Lady O'Sullivan we know nothing more than that she was a party to the agreement made with the Irish College a few weeks after her husband's death. Of Dermot we know a good deal. He seems to have been successful in all his undertakings, for he became one of the richest noblemen in Spain. He entered the royal service at an early age and continued in that service till his death. That the Spanish monarch appreciated his loyal service will be seen from the number of high offices to which he appointed him and from the various grants which he made to him.

Dermot O'Sullivan was Chamberlain to Philip IV, for which he received a salary of 240,000 maravedises a year; Councillor of the Exchequer, for which he received 450,000 maravedises a year; Member of the Privy Council and of the Royal Council of the Galleys, and to the latter at least a salary was attached. Besides these emoluments he was recipient of various royal grants. For instance, he inherited the annual grant of 1,000 ducats made to his father and his descendants. He was also successful in having the monthly grant of 200 ducats continued during his lifetime. In 1648 this grant was continued for two further lives, "in recognition of a special service," runs the royal decree, "which he [the Count] is about to perform for me." In a royal Cedula of 1657 there is a further reference to this service—"de lo que fue a hacerme aquel año en Irlanda" (what he went to do for me in Ireland in that year, *i.e.*, 1648). The purpose of O'Sullivan's mission to Ireland in 1648, as discovered by Father John MacErlean, S.J., in the National Archives of Simancas and explained by him to me, was to raise troops for the Catholic cause. A final mark of the king's appreciation was shown in 1658, when various privileges, with the right to collect royal taxes in certain places, were granted to O'Sullivan. After enumerating the privileges the King added: "All this for the many great and much appreciated services which his forefathers performed, and

for those which he himself has performed, is performing and will, I hope, perform—which services have been and are known to everybody, and are worthy of even higher recognition and reward."

Towards the end of his life Dermot O'Sullivan was also Majordomo to the Infante Don Juan de Austria II, a natural son of Philip IV and one of Spain's big political figures. No doubt this office carried with it a substantial salary. Indeed, O'Sullivan's income from various offices and grants was much larger than he could or need spend, so that he had a surplus for investment. He seems to have invested heavily in Government Stocks—or, as it was then called, he lent money to the Royal Treasury—and the Royal Treasury was not always prompt in paying him his interest. But in those days all Royal Treasuries were proverbially slow in meeting the claims of their creditors, and King Philip seems to have made ample compensation by the many favours and privileges he conferred on O'Sullivan. It will be seen later that the latter died a wealthy man.

Dermot O'Sullivan married, in 1631, into one of the first families of Spain. His wife was Doña Mariana de Cardona Cordoba y Aragon, a granddaughter of the great Duke of Sesa, Don Antonio de Cardona y Cordoba, Grand Admiral of Naples in the time of Philip II. She was thus a descendant of the Gran Capitán, whose sword came into the possession of her husband as a much prized heirloom. Apparently Doña Mariana and her brother, the Marquis de Belforte, were natural children; but as they were *recognised*, that is adopted by their father, they enjoyed by Spanish law the same rights as if they had been born in lawful wedlock. O'Sullivan had children by Doña Mariana; but none of them, except a daughter, survived their mother, who died some time between 1649 and 1654. No doubt, with the hope of having an heir to perpetuate his name, O'Sullivan married again on August 12, 1657. His second wife was Doña Manuela Mesia de Guzmán, a

name scarcely less illustrious than that of his first wife, though her family does not seem to have been wealthy, for it is stated that she received no dowry. On December 28, 1659, O'Sullivan died without issue by his second wife. His sole surviving child was a daughter, Antonia, by his first wife.

It is not easy to estimate exactly the value of O'Sullivan's property at his death; but his income from salaries and investments, exclusive of rents, was about three million maravedises, or nearly ninety thousand reales. In his will he estimated the diamonds on his robe as a Knight of Santiago at a sum nearly equal to £1,000. A clause in the will states that large sums were still owing to him from the Royal Treasury. In April, 1654, he had, by royal license, entailed all his property, personal and real, naming his daughter and her heirs to succeed to it. In the last codicil added to his will he constituted the Irish College of Salamanca as next heir in tail after the descendants of his body. In other words, if his only daughter should die without legitimate issue, the Irish College would inherit all his property as well as the title of Count of Birhaven. There is no doubt that this bequest was made at the suggestion of Father Thady O'Sullivan, S.J., a first cousin of the testator and one of the executors named in his will. He and his brother Philip, the historian, were both educated in the Irish College. As the latter is not mentioned in the will, we conclude that he had died before it was drawn up. The former received an annuity of 1,200 reales. The constitution of the Irish College as heir was contested later by an O'Sullivan on the ground of "undue influence" exercised by Father Thady; but the courts upheld the validity of the bequest. Apart from this bequest there is no evidence that Dermot O'Sullivan took any special interest in the college. The only time he figures in its records is when in 1635 he sent "30 reales for a priest of the college," which we take to be an act of private friendship. As already stated, the college is mentioned only in the last codicil.

In the will made by O'Sullivan in October, 1654, he requested the king to appoint a guardian to his daughter, in case his majesty did not command her to be received as a Menina (Lady-in-waiting) to the Queen; for, he adds, " the most I can do for her is to see that she be under such high protection and that the kindness of his Majesty may save her from the evils and misfortunes of the unprotected." His Majesty seems to have turned a deaf ear to these requests. At any rate, he did not save Antonia from the evils and misfortunes of the unprotected, as we shall see.

On the day before his death Dermot O'Sullivan, in a codicil added to his will, appointed as guardian to his daughter her maternal grandfather, Don Fernando Cardona y Cordoba. Antonia was then only ten years old. One of the first acts of her guardian was an attempt to have her mother's (his daughter's) marriage contract of 1631 revoked, stating that it was unjust and had never been ratified. He alleged that her property amounted to over ten million maravedises, that it had not been accounted for by her husband, and that it should form his grand-daughter's dowry. It would, of course, have to be taken from the entail and be subject for some time at least to his manipulation. We do not know if he succeeded. He also had a lawsuit with Antonia's stepmother regarding her portion, in the course of which she stated that her husband had left more property than had been accounted for. Finally, he married his ward at the age of fifteen to his illegitimate and scapegrace son, the Marquis de Belferte, who was her uncle.

This marriage was not a happy one. The Marquis de Belferte not only ran through his own property, which was considerable, but squandered a good part of his young wife's. His conduct must have been unsatisfactory from the first years of their married life; for as early as 1669 his wife got full power of attorney from him. In 1675, eleven years after the marriage, she divorced him *a mensa*

et toro. She also won a lawsuit against him and succeeded in ejecting him from his fine mansion in the Calle de Atocha, Madrid, which became her property, and in which she continued to live till her death, when it became the property of the Irish College. The Marquis de Belferte, who had been gentleman-in-waiting to Don Juan de Austria II, then a position of great importance, and who had enjoyed the revenues of the archdeaconry and a canonry of Cordoba, died in poverty early in 1688. In his will, a copy of which is preserved in the Archives of the Irish College, he states that he had no income for the last eight years of his life, during which time he lived on the charity of a friend.

About 1690 Antonia O'Sullivan married again. Her second husband was Don Baltasar Borja, scion of an illustrious family, as the name shows. But he does not seem to have been any better than her first husband. Before his death he succeeded in squandering all of his wife's personal property on which he could lay his hands, leaving the unfortunate woman in poverty to the end of her days. The Royal Treasury and other debtors owed her large sums; but she succeeded in extracting only small payments from the former. Her father had not over-estimated "the evils and misfortunes of the unprotected." She was reduced to such poverty that, for many years, she had scarcely the necessaries of life. She sold almost all her personal belongings and furniture, and in her last illness she might have starved, if she had not been sent food (*una olla*) by the family of her second husband—one of whom has left us this account of her poverty. She died on April 4, 1718, being nearly seventy years of age.

By her will, dated 23 October, 1702, she bequeathed to the Irish College of Salamanca the amounts due to her by her first husband and all her claims on the estate of Belferte. However, we are not aware that the college ever succeeded in collecting anything from this source. Her personal property she bequeathed to her "nephew,"

that is, her cousin's son or her husband's nephew, Don Lorenzo Folch de Cardona, for life—with remainder to the college, to which she also bequeathed " all the merits and services of her father and family," so that it might ask an equivalent from the king. She willed " the title of Birhaven, if not already included in the entail made by my father, to my nearest relative of the name O'Sullivan or to the legitimate owner of the family estates in Ireland." The auction of her effects realised only 9,608 reales ; but some eighty paintings, the furniture of her private chapel, and a few statues were evidently not included in the sale. One of the paintings was the portrait of her grandfather which now hangs in the refectory of the Irish College and to which reference has been made at the beginning of this article. If the other paintings were also handed over to the college, they have since been stolen or destroyed. It must be remembered that the college lost much of its property during the French occupation of Salamanca in 1812.

In August, 1718, the Irish College of Salamanca was juridically declared heir to the O'Sullivan Bear property. It is impossible now to know how much of the wealth possessed by the second Count of Birhaven reached the college. That wealth was estimated in one list as high as 43,767,810 maravedises ; but, as we have seen, much of this was squandered. However, it would appear that the college finally secured property equal to about one-third of the total amount left by Dermot—that is, some fifteen million maravedises (approximately half a million reales). This calculation is confirmed by the fact that within a few years after it began to enjoy the fruits of the inheritance, which was in 1720, the revenues increased from a paltry and uncertain four or five thousand to twenty-five or thirty thousand reales. The college was at last and for the first time really founded ; for up to that time it had practically no property and no secure income. Indeed for nearly a century before it had eked out a miserable existence, having generally only three or four students.

It is true that nearly all this property was lost in the course of the following century; but the college still holds some lands purchased by part of the O'Sullivan money, and it does not and cannot forget that its greatest benefactor was Dermot O'Sullivan, Count of Birhaven.

The reader may wish to know what became of the title "Count of Birhaven." As the Jesuits, who were in charge of the Irish College at the time, could not use the title or eschewed the legal trouble of defending the right of the college to hold and use it, the king in 1721 bestowed it on a Don Daniel O'Sullivan. This gentleman is said to have been living in Paris and to have been a colonel—in the French army, I presume. In 1712 he was acknowledged by Dona Antonia as her next-of-kin on the O'Sullivan side, and he states that there was no other member of the family left in Spain. He seems to have had revived in his favour the annual grant of 1,000 ducats made to the first Count and to his heirs for ever. In 1746, more than twenty years after receiving the title of Count of Birhaven, he presented a petition to the King to have himself declared sole and real heir to the O'Sullivan property, on the plea that the property was attached to the title and that Count Dermot could not exclude from the entail the members of his family or his relatives. Needless to say, he did not succeed in disturbing the college in its enjoyment of the inheritance.

Two other French O'Sullivans held the title, but in 1769 it was conferred on Don Thady O'Sullivan of Glanslac or Graslac (both spellings are given in Spanish), "of the territory of Birhaven in Ireland." The late Martin A. S. Hume[1] stated that he had in his possession documents relating to the title at this period; we have tried in vain to locate them. The title was revived in modern times in favour of a Spanish nobleman of Irish descent, el Conde de San Esteban de Cañongo, who still enjoys it.

DENIS J. O'DOHERTY.

[1] Ed. of the *Calendars of Spanish State Papers* (Public Record Office).

EDWARD MARTYN

BY DENIS GWYNN.

SOME eight years ago, when Edward Martyn died after a long and painful illness in the home of his ancestors, Tulira Castle in County Galway, he had already become a somewhat legendary figure. A new generation was wholly unaware of how large a part he had played in creating the various movements that inspired their own enthusiasm. Among those who remembered him, he had acquired a reputation for extreme eccentricity since his famous lawsuit against the Kildare Street Club, which expelled him for his highly provocative political utterances, but was compelled, owing to the mismanagement of the proceedings for his expulsion, to acquiesce in his continuing to be a member. The strain of that protracted lawsuit, and advancing years, had led him to retire from public life; and his only important venture after the Kildare Street Club litigation was to found the Irish National Theatre, in the hope that it would carry on the ideals that he had formerly hoped that the Abbey Theatre would serve. His last emergence into public prominence came after his death, when the provisions of his extraordinary will were made known.

He was the last member of a family that dated from Norman times, and that had figured notably in the history of County Galway for many centuries. It was not evidence of any warlike spirit on the part of his ancestors that a pardon was granted to the head of his family in the time of Queen Anne, when in consideration of his generosity towards harassed Protestants in the troubled years, the Martyns were exempted by a special Act of Parliament from the penal laws concerning Catholic landowners. The family were thus able to retain considerable estates, and Edward Martyn's father increased the

family's property very substantially by his marriage. He married the daughter of a rich self-made man in the county, who had made a fortune by dealing in the estates which came into the market when the Encumbered Estates Act was passed. Edward Martyn's father died when he was a small boy, and he was brought up entirely by his mother. She sent him to school in England under the Jesuits at Beaumont College, and later to Christ's Church, Oxford, at a time when very few Catholic undergraduates went to the older English Universities because of the ban imposed upon them by the English hierarchy.

Thus born to inherit large estates and with the orthodox English education of a young Irish landlord, Edward Martyn returned to Ireland at the time when the Land League was just beginning to sweep the country and when Parnell was beginning to play havoc with the House of Commons. He had been brought up in the strictly orthodox views of Irish landlordism, to which Catholic as well as Protestant landlords equally conformed; and nothing could have been further from his thoughts for many years than that he should one day become the first President of a new nationalist revival in Ireland under the title Sinn Féin. The Grand Juries still administered the whole affairs of the countryside, and as a young landlord owning some of the most important estates in Galway and Roscommon, Edward Martyn took his place very soon as a member of the Grand Jury and as a local magistrate. Before long he was appointed Deputy Lieutenant of his County. The Land League was as horrible and iniquitous in his eyes, as a young man, as it was to all his neighbours in their spacious mansions; and on the Grand Juries he earned the reputation of being one of the most severe in inflicting awards for compensation for malicious injuries. His own land-agent was shot at on the high road from Gort, and for a time he was himself under police protection.

How came it that such a man should throw in his lot

with Arthur Griffith in the early years of Sinn Féin, and that he should become one of the most indispensable promoters of all the phases of the Irish Ireland movement? No other man of his generation in fact was so closely involved in so many of the movements which have made modern Ireland. He was not only the first President of Sinn Féin. He, with Mr. John Sweetman, provided the funds required to finance the publication of Griffith's epoch-making "Hungarian" pamphlet. He was for years a member of the Coisde Gnótha of the Gaelic League, and his generous donations did much to make its work possible. He was equally generous in subsidising the I.A.O.S. at a time when its directors never knew from month to month how they could manage to pay the salaries of their small staff. He was the chief pioneer of a revival of art in Catholic churches all over the country. His services to the revival of music in Ireland, which was the most absorbing interest of his life, were incalculable. But what he regarded as "the most significant action of his life" was his part in founding the Irish Literary Theatre, out of which the Abbey Theatre has since developed.

It is strange that his memory should have been so quickly forgotten, though his temperament had much to say to his being ignored and pushed aside in every movement that he touched. The editor of *Studies* has asked me to write about him, as his papers—which he bequeathed, together with his library, to Father Cyril Ryan, O.D.C., of St. Teresa's, Dublin—have been entrusted to me to write a memoir of him. In a short article I can do no more than indicate some of the principal interests and achievements of his life, which will be presented much more fully, together with selections from his miscellaneous writings, in the memoir that is to be published this summer. The papers which he left were chaotic and very incomplete, but on several matters it has been possible to throw new and rather surprising light.

Edward Martyn's name will in any event be always associated with the writings of some of his friends who have grown much more famous than he, but they have been deplorably ungenerous and unjust to his memory. Readers of Mr. George Moore's celebrated trilogy of Irish recollections, *Ave*, *Salve*, and *Vale*, will remember many amusing passages in which Mr. Moore describes "dear Edward's" rooms both in London and in Dublin, during the years when they were associated with the foundation of the Irish Theatre. The friendship between the two men was most paradoxical, for it would be impossible to imagine a greater contrast than existed between their ideas and tastes. But they were distantly related, as all the Catholic landowning families of the west of Ireland are. Edward Martyn had been at Beaumont with George Moore's younger brother, and there had been a close friendship between the two families for many years. When Edward Martyn, after an unhappy period at school at Beaumont (from which he was expelled, with the late Duke de Stacpoole and another Irish boy, for attempting to blow up the school), developed literary tastes and ambitions at Oxford, it was natural that he should follow with special interest the career of Mr. George Moore, who had already become widely known and admired among literary people in London.

It was during the years when he had rooms in London after leaving Oxford that Edward Martyn conceived the idea of writing plays on the lines of Ibsen's psychological dramas, which were then beginning to revolutionise the theatre. George Moore had acquired considerable prestige as a dramatic critic, and they used to talk about plays almost every evening. Martyn had taken seriously to writing since he left Oxford, and had spent years upon a long classical poem until he suddenly decided that he had been wasting his time because his work was not of a kind to promote the glory of God. He tore up and burned the work of years, and then in a fever of disappointment he

set himself to produce an elaborate satire upon the materialism of the age, which he published anonymously in 1890 under the title "Morgante the Lesser." It was a remarkably able, though laboured, piece of work, and it attracted attention in the literary reviews; but its success was so limited that Martyn decided to try other forms of literature. So he set to writing an Ibsenish play about life in the west of Ireland, which took shape in the "Heather Field."

It happened that George Moore was at the time denouncing the fashionable comedies of Pinero and the other smart society playwrights in London, and accusing the dramatic critics and theatrical producers of never giving a chance to plays which really had ideas and literary form. Edward Martyn's play was now available, and George Moore decided to write an introduction to the play when it was being published in book form, which would proclaim it to be the greatest modern play yet written in English. Martyn had made friends also with Mr. W. B. Yeats and Arthur Symons, and Yeats also had written a poetic play, "The Countess Cathleen." The excitement of having his own play published led Martyn to wonder whether arrangements could not be made at a reasonable cost to have it produced, and in consultation with Mr. George Moore, he decided to make the experiment of producing both plays together. All the most likely producers in London were approached, but without any success; and then Edward Martyn submitted both plays to a producer in Dublin, who was even less considerate in the terms of his refusal. By that time Yeats had met Lady Gregory, when he had gone to stay with Edward Martyn in Tulira Castle, and she also became enthusiastic and undertook there and then to collect financial guarantees from cultivated people in Ireland and in England.

Lady Gregory has told her own version of the story, in her charming style, in her book on the Irish Theatre.

She herself offered the first guarantee, and the replies which she received, some favourable and others discouraging, make amusing reading now-a-days. Actually the guarantors were never called upon to pay their contributions, for Edward Martyn shouldered the entire finances himself. The story of the first production of the plays is well known. Mr. Yeats's "Countess Cathleen" provoked pandemonium at the Antient Concert Rooms, where the plays were performed, and fierce denunciations of his play were published, on the ground that he was slandering the good name of the Irish peasantry by representing them as selling their souls to the devil until the Countess Cathleen rescued them. Cardinal Logue even intervened with a statement in which he said that he had not read the play, but thought it sounded disgraceful. Mr. Moore in his trilogy has made fun of Edward Martyn as a devout Catholic struggling with his conscience as to whether he ought to withdraw the play. Edward's view was that the Cardinal had admitted that he had not read the play, and so was not competent to judge, whereas two theological authorities (one of them being Canon William Barry) had deliberately expressed their approval. Canon Barry had even urged them to produce the play and face any possible abuse. As a matter of history it is interesting to record that Edward Martyn received an encouraging letter from his own Bishop, Dr. Healy, the future Archbishop of Tuam, which disclaimed any judgment on the controversy, but said that he thought the abuse was extravagant, and congratulated Edward Martyn most warmly on the success and the beauty of his own play, "The Heather Field."

Mr. Yeats in his published version of the address he delivered to the Swedish Academy when he received the Nobel Prize has given a remarkably inaccurate version of what followed. "Martyn," Mr. Yeats declares, "withdrew permanently after a few months, forseeing further peril to his soul." The facts were quite otherwise. Martyn

not only paid for the whole performance of the first season; at the next year's season he produced his own play "Maeve," while Mr. Yeats was not represented that year at all. Martyn was even responsible for two plays in the second season, which also included the "Tale of a Town," which was a revision by Mr. Moore of another play by him. By the following year, however, the success of the Theatre had become so remarkable that Mr. Yeats and Lady Gregory had found influential support and were able to develop it on lines with which Martyn had no sympathy. To produce a succession of peasant plays was not in the least what Edward Martyn desired, for he took no interest in them. He was quite willing and anxious that some peasant plays should be produced, but he would only have agreed to their forming part of the Theatre's repertoire.

What he wished was that the stage should be used to present studies of Irish character and manners, whereas the peasant play had very little characterisation and soon became a somewhat monotonous formula. Similarly with the actors, Martyn was bitterly disappointed with the development of a very simple form of character-acting, however well done it might be. He had looked forward to the training of a much more ambitious school of actors, who should produce the best modern plays from other countries, besides producing new Irish plays. He lost interest in the whole project when Mr. Yeats and Lady Gregory were able to develop the Theatre on lines so different to what he had hoped for, and years afterwards he succeeded in opening a new theatre of his own in collaboration with Joseph Plunkett and Thomas MacDonagh, where plays of the type that did interest him could be produced.

Considering how much the beginnings of the Theatre owed to the generosity and the strenuous efforts of Edward Martyn, he has certainly been treated with less than justice by those of his associates who have written about

him. Not the least cause of their lack of sympathy was the fact that Edward Martyn was a singularly devout Catholic, who was all his life haunted by an excess of scrupulousness. As a young man he wrote to old Bishop McCormack in Galway to ask for a formal permission to read, and to have in his library, books that had been prohibited by the Index. The correspondence, which he preserved, would seem to suggest that no such request had ever been made in the diocese before. The Bishop replied, after consultation and research, that he found he had no power to grant such a dispensation to a layman, but only to his clergy within strict limits, and he referred Edward Martyn accordingly to Rome, where the desired permission was, of course, easily obtained. All his dealings with the Bishops on ecclesiastical matters in fact show a surprising readiness to leave him much wider scope than he could ever have expected.

When he devoted himself seriously to improving the artistic standard of Church decoration in Ireland, Edward Martyn was met with every encouragement. At the Cathedral in Loughrea, he and his friends were allowed to put in almost whatever decorations they wished, with remarkably good results. And when Bishop O'Dea succeeded Dr. Healy in Loughrea, he practically placed himself unreservedly in Edward Martyn's hands on artistic matters. But the most surprising instance of this readiness to encourage artistic reforms was the foundation of the Palestrina Choir at the pro-Cathedral in Dublin. When Edward Martyn returned to the west of Ireland with vague ideas of promoting a literary and artistic revival in Ireland in the Land League days, it would have been difficult to conceive a more hopeless outlook. Especially in regard to liturgical music it seemed incredible that a young layman with an English education should be able to persuade any Bishop in Ireland to allow experiments to be tried in any important Church. But the experiments that had been tried at St.

Teresa's, Clarendon Street, encouraged him to approach the Archbishop of Dublin boldly, and he found to his delight that Dr. Walsh was a real enthusiast for liturgical music and shared his own view that Gregorian music should be revived.

Who could have imagined that Edward Martyn would not only be given a free hand to experiment in a great Dublin church, but that the Archbishop should entrust the music of his own Cathedral to him? Mr. George Moore has written much in his trilogy about Edward Martyn's negotiations with Dr. Walsh, and he gives an absurdly false picture of the actual facts. Mr. Moore's version is that Edward, by promising an endowment of £10,000, cleverly manoeuvred the unwilling Archbishop into consenting, and that he then contrived to tie up the Archbishop in perpetuity by an elaborate legal document which would recall the donation if anything but Gregorian music were ever performed in the Cathedral. Actually the Archbishop's letters show that he shared Martyn's enthusiasm completely. He doubled the endowment by an equivalent provision from the resources of the archdiocese. And the elaborate legal agreement was almost entirely concocted by the Archbishop himself, who dragged on the proceedings for months, criticising with the most minute and skilful care every clause that the lawyers drafted, in order to ensure that Edward's wishes should be carried out after both he and the Archbishop were dead.

The agreement was the more remarkable because Edward Martyn made no secret in all the negotiations that he detested hearing women singing in church, and his enthusiasm for Palestrina was undoubtedly due in part to his most abnormal hatred of womankind. It was one of the strongest features of his curious character, and it cannot be explained merely as a reaction from the years during which his mother made desperate and unceasing attempts to induce him to make a suitable marriage, if only that the family might not die with him. Edward

Martyn was a born misogynist, and his repugnance towards women led to many amusing situations. There is nothing funnier than his encouragement of Irish dancing as part of the work of the Gaelic League. In an article on the subject he recalled how as a boy he had been sent to dancing academies, where he had been " taught to walk round the room like a hen " ; and the dancing competitions at féiseanna, which he always attended with enthusiasm, were a constant torture to him. And perhaps the absurd contrast between his own attitude towards women and the conscientious amorousness of Mr. George Moore was the real explanation of their strange friendship, which was a continual entertainment to them both. They became estranged after the publication of Mr. Moore's trilogy, and Martyn retaliated by inserting in his personal entry for *Who's Who* that his recreation was " Mr. George Augustus Moore." Much the wittiest thing Martyn ever wrote was his play " The Dream Physician," in which he lampooned George Moore on the stage, as a reprisal for what he had written about Martyn in the later volumes of his trilogy, giving in stage directions his own description of the personal peculiarities of the " absurd old Galway journalist," whom he called George Augustus Moon.

Two men could scarcely have been more utterly unlike in temperament, for Martyn was in fact what he himself described in his " Morgante " as " an uncloistered monk." If he had been sent to a Benedictine school, he might, one imagines, have very possibly entered a religious order, in a community where his love of music and of learning would have found scope undisturbed. Instead he returned to his Castle in Galway from Oxford, and to please his mother spent on rebuilding the place the £20,000 that had accumulated during his minority. He was intensely hospitable, and he loved good food and drink, though in his later years, he restricted himself absolutely to one meal a day. But from his early manhood he chose as his own room in

Tulira Castle a bare, almost unfurnished and whitewashed, room in the old tower, and he never altered his ways of life. In Dublin he lived in two most uncomfortable rooms over a tobacconist's shop, where he had not even a servant to wait on him. He took his meals at the Kildare Street Club, where he disagreed violently with nearly all its members and provoked them deliberately by making public speeches that were intended to rile them.

His Club even passed a special new rule to make sure of being able to expel him, soon after the Boer War, when his politics had suddenly changed; and only absurd carelessness in carrying out the procedure for his expulsion led to their being forced to accept him as a member after his lawsuit against them. He had an intense contempt for the affectations of "West Britonism," and a fierce hostility towards absentee landlordism; but at heart he was always conscious of his own traditions and instinctive sympathies as an aristocrat.

Temperamentally and by conviction he abhorred democracy. His satire "Morgante," which sums up the philosophy that inspired his whole life, was chiefly directed to ridiculing the democratic as well as the materialistic tendencies of his generation. But he had developed on very unexpected lines in his political views, during the nineties, when the reading of Irish history converted him to Nationalism. The Boer War accentuated his nationalist views very quickly, and he resigned his commissions as a magistrate and as Deputy Lieutenant. He took a prominent part soon afterwards in the anti-enlisting campaign, and he joined Arthur Griffith whole-heartedly in founding Sinn Féin. But literature and art always meant much more to him than politics, and as a literary landlord he was a sadly isolated figure. His strong opinions estranged him from many of his literary friends, while his politics made him an eccentric among the Irish landowning class to which he belonged. He had no gift

for public life, and after his retirement from the presidency of Sinn Féin, his life was clouded by great loneliness.

He had always been morbid on certain subjects, and the religious scruples of his early years revived towards the end. But the celebrated clause in his will, which directed that his body must be taken to the dissecting rooms of a medical school, and that he must be buried in a pauper's grave, was the fulfilment of a resolution which he had formed very early in his life. Even during his mother's lifetime, his first will had stipulated, as a condition upon which the whole will depended, that his body must be dissected after death. When she died he felt free to demand what he really wished, and to insist in his will upon what he had described in "Morgante," as one of the rules of his ideal state—that his body should serve a useful purpose after death by being dissected in a medical school. So he died happily, knowing that his wish must be fulfilled. Everything that he could leave, apart from the estate and even encroaching upon the full value of the estate, he bequeathed to religious or philanthropic causes, amounting to tens of thousands of pounds. But while he left provision for many hundreds of Masses to be said for his soul, the only distinctive ceremony at the grave in which his dismembered body was buried with those of six paupers, was that the Palestrina Choir which he had endowed sang at the graveside. They did not know that one of his many generous legacies had been a further endowment to provide them with an annual holiday every summer.

"An unhappy, childless, unfinished, laborious man, typical of an Ireland that is passing away," is how Mr. Yeats describes him in a footnote to his address to the Swedish Academy, ignoring the astonishingly wide range of his achievements. It is the barest truth to say that but for Edward Martyn many of the most vital movements in modern Ireland could never have developed as they did, and might even have never come to life. He was

reputed to be enormously rich, yet by present standards he was not a man of great wealth. His income was about two thousand a year. How many Irishmen who have the same incomes, or much more, can claim to have done anything like as much by a generous and prudent expenditure? Reading through the accumulation of his early papers, one is impressed with the apparent hopelessness of anything ever being accomplished on the lines that he desired, in the remote days of the Land League. Yet within twenty years he was an active promoter of a dozen constructive movements which had been very largely assisted by his personal generosity. He was the most remarkable instance in his time of how much one man of private means could do by patient perseverance in public service. He proved, more than any other man, how much and how quickly a few really sincere reformers could accomplish in Ireland, if they were willing to devote their time and their money to what they wanted done. Still more, he set a magnificent example of moral courage throughout his life. No man was so indifferent to criticism or ridicule, or was so willing to face the hostility of any class in Ireland when he felt that it must be faced. And perhaps the most interesting aspect of his life was his relations with the Irish Bishops. He was always ready to criticise them when he disagreed with them, on matters that were not religious—whether on the question of compulsory Irish, or in their attitude towards ecclesiastical art or music. And they on their side showed surprisingly little resentment of his criticisms, even when he defeated them.

DENIS GWYNN.

CATHOLIC MEDICAL MISSIONS

A Visit to Wurzburg

BY D. DONNELLY, S.J., M.SC.

WURZBURG is a name which has become famous in recent years as the home of the first Catholic Institute of Missionary Doctors. It is a distinction which makes the beautiful old Bavarian town a minor Mecca for those interested in Catholic missions. Hence the present writer yielded readily to the persuasion of the Editor of "Studies," and broke an important journey for a night in order to "see with his eyes, and hear with his ears, and be converted." For these lines are the story of a conversion, convinced, ungrudging and without reserve. I went to Würzburg with, I trust, an open mind, but—let me admit quite frankly—with an undoubted scepticism as to the needs, the achievements and the prospects of this experiment, new in Catholic mission history. Not that I was prejudiced against the Medical Mission Institute; on the contrary, I had heard nothing but praise of it. But at times—and this is, perhaps, peculiarly true of the Irish—commendation, especially if undiluted, has the unpleasant effect of making one withhold one's assent; one feels that one has heard only one side of the case, and one reserves judgment until one hears the other. At any rate, my mentality in going to Würzburg might have been fairly described as that of an unprejudiced agnostic. I came away an enthusiastic believer.

It was on a beautiful, sunny afternoon at the beginning of October that my train pulled into Würzburg station from the north, and deposited me and my baggage on the station platform. I asked a porter whether he knew

the Medical Mission Institute, and received the answer "Ja" in a tone which seemed to contain the reproachful suggestion that the question was almost an insult to a Würzburger's intelligence. To my query "How far away is it?", he replied "About twenty minutes' walk." It was very warm, and I had two handbags; nature conquered grace, and I took a taxi. I was very glad that I did so, because it would have proved a very solid twenty minutes' walk up hill.

The Institute is magnificently placed. Würzburg lies in the narrow valley of the Main, surrounded by low, rolling hills; and the city's development is strictly limited towards the east and west. The hospitals, of which Würzburg possesses many and magnificently equipped, are situated in the southern portion of the city. The Medical Missionary Institute stands upon a slope to the south-west of the town, well above and away from the noise and dust and heat of the streets. With its neighbouring building, the splendid modern monastery of the Missionary Trappists of Mariannhill, it forms, in a sense, the outermost boundary of the city towards the south-west; it is virtually in the country, and yet an easy quarter-of-an-hour's walk (downhill!) takes one to the hospitals, while a few minutes more bring one to the railway-station.

The present building is quite new. The first shovel was thrust into the naked slope on Nov. 14, 1927, and the first students entered the still-unfinished house at the beginning of the winter term, 1928, though the solemn opening celebrations were not held until the feast of St. Francis Xavier, December 3rd. It is an excellent example of the modern school of architecture; practical, cleanly, comfortable, destitute of all ornament other than that of perfect proportions. The Institute did not always possess so admirably suitable a home; born in tears in hard years (1922), its first quarters were a fortunately-rented asylum for old people, the funds of

which had been wiped out by the inflation of the German mark, and for many months the Institute had a grim struggle for existence. Its history, however, is really the history of one man, the present Director, Fr. C. Becker, S.D.S., whose name will occur frequently in these pages.

On my arrival I was shown into Fr. Becker's room, and, though I was a perfect stranger, was welcomed with the quiet courtesy and heartiness of an old acquaintance. Fr. Becker pressed me to stay the night and see round the Institute at my leisure on the morrow. I was very glad to accept the offer, which gave me a better opportunity than I had ventured to hope for of seeing the Institute from within.

Fr. Becker is beyond all question a remarkable man. In former days he was a distinguished Indian missionary, and at the outbreak of the War was Prefect Apostolic of Assam. (In consequence, he speaks English perfectly). But when war began, he was re-patriated by the British Government, and in the year 1920 was living in Munich, awaiting an opportunity of returning to his mission and devoting his energies meantime to important literary and ethnological work.

In September, 1920, the first post-war meeting of the representatives of the Catholic organizations in Germany was held at Würzburg, and Fr. Becker was asked to read a paper on " Medical Welfare Work in Mission Countries." This paper (later published in pamphlet form by the Franziskus-Xaverius Verlag in Aachen) gave the first real impetus to the vague schemes for medical help which had long been a subject of discussion in Catholic mission circles; and it has proved so fundamental and important that no apology is needed for summarizing it briefly here.

Fr. Becker introduced his subject by a few words—but words hot with conviction and dictated by personal observation and powerlessness—on the appalling pre-

valence of disease and consequent need of doctors in mission countries. He pointed out that the desire to help suffering and distress sprang automatically from the spirit of Christianity, and that Christ Himself, the true Healer, had not only gone about from village to village "healing every disease and infirmity" (Matt. ix: 34), but that His commission to His disciples had been, to "heal the sick and say to them: The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." (Luc. x. 8). He went on to discuss the importance of medical missionary work, not only as preparing the ground for the Gospel, not only for the new Christians and for the heathen, but also for the missionaries themselves. How many young and splendid lives might have been spared for years of fruitful work, if only skilled help had been available in time! The lecturer then devoted a striking page to the remarkable results achieved by Protestant medical missionary efforts. "We find therefore at present (1922) in the mission fields a total of 1,036 Anglo-Saxon (*i.e.* English and American) Protestant missionary doctors, male and female, at work. This figure includes only the fully qualified practitioners, who have completed their studies at an English or American university .... The number of their helpers and assistants runs into thousands .... Altogether the Protestants possess about 400 hospitals, about 700 polyclinics, and 90 leper asylums in the missions."[1]

Fr. Becker next turned his attention to the results achieved by this tremendous expenditure of money and energy. He quoted the verdict of the English Church Missionary Society (*Manual on Medical Missions*, London, 1922): "If we turn to experience, we find a brilliant justification of medical missionary activity. By its means we have come into contact with men who could have been reached in no other way; by its means we have

[1] For latest statistics see H. Fowler's *Dictionary of Medical Missions* (World Dominion Press. 1929. 2s. 6d.)

been able to tear down barriers of superstition and prejudice, and to lead people in greater numbers to Christ than by any other missionary method." In some cases whole countries have been opened to Protestant missionary work by means of the medical mission, as, for example, when the American missionary doctor, Dr. Allen, by his treatment of a Korean prince wounded in the rebellion of 1885, paved the way for other doctors and missionaries to enter Korea. Again, it was the pioneer work of a Scotch missionary doctor, Dr. Elmslie, which made an entrance for missionaries into the principality of Cashmir in the Himalayas.

The immediate result of this paper was the founding of the "Catholic Association for Medical Missionary Welfare Work," which began with a membership of almost one hundred influential Catholics, almost all doctors. The next step was the acquiring of a suitable house for students. It would take too long to describe here the series of conferences, discussions, difficulties, unexpected disappointments which followed; anyone interested will find them fully given in the *Festschrift* published at the opening of the new Institute in December, 1928. One can only call the story an amazing record of courage and trust in God. For it should be remembered that at this period the German mark was falling so rapidly that (quite literally) a man had to eat his dinner quickly in a restaurant, otherwise he might find the prices doubled before he finished his meal! Suffice to say that, owing above all to Divine Providence and to the unwearying energy, perseverance and business ability of Fr. Becker, the first Catholic Medical Mission Institute welcomed its first students in a very humble way in November, 1922, and is now a lusty and welcome newcomer in the field of Catholic missionary endeavour.

On the evening of my arrival the university term in Würzburg had not yet begun; consequently the older students had not returned after the vacation. Only

ten or a dozen younger students (*i.e.* those in their first or second year) had come back a month before the others, in order to attend a course of lectures in philosophy and theology, mainly of an apologetical character. "Not that we want to make theologians of these young people," explained Fr. Becker, smiling, "but they themselves feel the need of a thorough grounding in their religion to fit them for their future life."

The students impressed one most favourably. I was with them for supper—Fr. Becker introduced me as an Irishman, and told them smilingly that they were expected to speak English in honour of my visit! and I chatted with them afterwards for half an hour or so, until the customary Thursday devotions, Rosary and Benediction, were held in the little chapel. I thus had an opportunity of seeing them at close quarters both at play and at prayer. They struck one as being splendid material; just the cheery, good-humoured, friendly manners and sincere, simple piety that one looks for in those from whom one hopes fine work for Almighty God. Fr. Becker certainly has chosen his men well.

After devotions I had a long chat with the Senior of the house, a most obliging young man named Herr Schwefel, who in addition showed me round the house next morning, and who was kindness itself in explaining difficulties and answering questions. It is to him, almost as much as to Fr. Becker himself, that I owe my complete "conversion."

I went to Würzburg with three large queries in my mind about the Institute and its work; and in the course of this conversation I put them all three quite frankly to my young friend. My first question was this: Was there any real need or demand *on the part of the missions* for this work at all? The importance of medical work on the missions was clear and undisputed, as was the fact that Catholics were very backward in this respect as compared with the Protestants. But why should this need

be supplied in this particular way? Did the Bishops and Prefects Apostolic out on the missions want the particular solution which the Institute afforded?

The answer was completely satisfying: The demand for these young doctors is far, far greater than the supply. It is precisely from the ecclesiastical authorities *in the missions* that the Institute receives most encouraging and most grateful letters.

All the members of the Medical Institute, I discovered, bind themselves on oath to work for ten years on the heathen missions, by agreement even for longer. This sworn pledge they are not allowed to take until they have been in Würzburg for over a year, and have had ample time to think things over and make up their minds. The Institute in return offers its medical students board and lodging during their years of study (*i.e.* as far as the house permits), puts them in touch with the ecclesiastical authorities in the mission fields, looks after them when they return to Europe on holidays—in a word, makes itself responsible for them.

"Where does the money for all this come from?" I queried.

"Well," my young friend replied, "that is rather a mystery to most of us; I should say a kindly Providence and Fr. Becker's financial ability have a large share in it. The students here buy their own books, pay their own school fees, and contribute something towards their keep—though what the students pay does not suffice to keep the house going. However, leaving out of account for a moment the debt upon this new house, we are not an extravagant crowd; we live very simply. Fr. Becker contrives somehow or other to find sufficient benefactors to make ends meet."

"So the students really do not get much from the Institute?" I asked interestedly.

"Yes and no," he answered; "we get a high ideal, a group of splendid friends and boon companions, food

and lodging cheaper than we could get them for ourselves; and we save a good deal of money by lending expensive books around amongst ourselves. The Institute gives us no money or anything of that kind. In return we bind ourselves to a minimum of ten years' service in the missions—though, of course, most if not all of us intend to spend our whole lives, and not merely ten years abroad. It seems a fair bargain."

These young men are all fully qualified doctors before the Institute sends them out. They do the ordinary course of medical studies exactly as any other German doctor. In addition they often do a further course of special study in surgery, dermatology, ophthalmology, tropical medicine and so on. And if they mean to go to an English or Dutch colony, they have to undergo a special examination in England or Holland, in order to obtain their degree there.[1]

My second difficulty was also of a fundamental character: Was there any real demand for such an Institute *on the part of medical students?* Would it not be far better to direct all this energy and fine enthusiasm towards the sending out of *missionaries* rather than doctors? Were there really many vocations to this kind of life?

This question also Herr Schwefel answered by referring me to the facts. They had far more applicants than they could find room or funds to accept. He explained that the vast majority of the students felt no vocation to the priesthood, but were ready and anxious to spend their lives working for Christ's cause in the missions. He, and also Fr. Becker, was careful to emphasize the fact that their vocation was to be *missionary doctors—i.e.* units in the missionary army of the Church. They were not simply doctors who meant to work later in the mission

[1] Two doctors have already obtained in Dublin the necessary supplementary degree and are now working in a mission field in South Africa. It is proposed to send others soon to Dublin for the same purpose.

fields; neither were they missionaries who happened to be doctors. The Institute aimed at turniug out missionary doctors who would spend their lives under the direction and authority of the ecclesiastical superiors in the missions. Just as many a priest or Christian brother passes his whole life in teaching mathematics to small boys for the glory of God, so these young men want to use their lives in God's service by practising their profession in the missions.

I objected that, if that be their point of view, they would surely be far better and safer in some religious congregation. His answer was, that that plan had been suggested, but that it suffered from insurmountable difficulties.

There are really only four possible solutions to this problem of medical welfare work in the missions. Either (*a*) the mission employs ordinary lay doctors to work in its hospitals, just as it employs clerks or catechists; or (*b*) *priests* are trained as doctors; or (*c*) *lay-brothers* are trained as doctors; or (*d*) a special congregation of missionary doctors is founded. The first solution has nothing to commend it, when compared with the Catholic Medical Mission Institute. It merely meets the same need in a more expensive, less well organized and less satisfactory way, while it leaves out of count altogether the most valuable element of all—zeal and enthusiasm. How is the ordinary missionary bishop to get in touch with young doctors imbued with the necessary idealism? The case for the second solution, the priest-doctor, has been strongly pleaded; but it too is refuted by experience. There are not, and never will be, enough priest-doctors to supply even a tiny fraction of the great need. How many young men of high purpose will ever be willing to study theology for six years and medicine for seven before beginning their life's work? Besides, that a priest should practise constantly as a doctor is certainly against the spirit of Canon Law, and is quite opposed to the

instincts of Christians, both at home and in the missions. The priest's authority could only suffer in the long run by his functioning, for example, as a gynaecologist. Moreover, medicine is a subject which requires constant study and reading, even after a man is qualified; a priest-doctor would, in the majority of cases, be either a good priest and a poor doctor, or *vice versa*. As for the third solution, few lay-brothers have had the secondary education necessary to enable them to commence the study of medicine; and very few doctors would care to join a missionary congregation as lay-brothers. The only remaining solution, and the only solution which is likely to produce doctors for the missions in sufficient numbers and quality, is something on the lines of the Medical Mission Institute.

Herr Schwefel, before leaving me, gave me also the solution to my third big difficulty. It seemed to me a very reckless thing for these young men to set out upon a career such as this which led nowhere. One might perhaps fairly expect from the members of a religious order or congregation a willingness and readiness to be moved hither and thither "like an old man's staff" at their Superior's will, trusting in Divine Providence to take care of them. But these young men were surely not thinking of remaining unmarried all their lives; and what was to happen when they came back to Europe after their ten years of missionary work and found themselves without money or position, and with the best years of their lives behind them?

It was rather a surprise to learn that they were strongly urged to marry before going out to the missions at all. I discovered that these young men's purpose was by no means so foolhardy as I had imprudently assumed it to be, but that their needs and prospects had been carefully and wisely considered. The Institute in Würzburg arranges a contract for its doctors with the Superior of the particular mission which they select, or to which

they are appointed; and this contract always contains more or less the following clauses :—

1. The doctor is accepted as a member of the mission staff, and the mission assumes the responsibility of caring for him (and, if he is married, for his family), just as it cares for any other missionary.

2. The mission pays the expenses of the journey out, of the doctor's equipment, and (usually) of the journey back to Europe after ten years, whether the doctor wishes to sever his connection with the mission or to return to it.

3. The doctor is allowed a holiday in Europe after ten years of service in the mission field, all expenses being paid by the mission.

4. The mission pays the doctor a fixed but modest salary, the amount to depend upon circumstances and conditions; this salary normally corresponds to an income of about £100-150 a year at home.

5. The doctor further receives his house free and a certain definite sum to meet incidental expenses. He is at perfect liberty to undertake private practice in so far as he has an opportunity of doing so, provided this does not interfere with his work for the mission.

These are, broadly speaking, the terms under which the doctors of the Institute give their service to the missions. It is thus in no sense true that they go out recklessly and in a first flush of enthusiasm; they are guaranteed a reasonable security and a modest competency. For the rest—well, as Herr Schwefel said with a shrug of his shoulders, their vocation is to be missionaries as well as doctors; they must have some trust in Divine Providence.

On the following morning, my kindly guide showed me round the house itself. Owing to the sloping ground upon which the Institute is built, the lowest of its four storeys is reached by a few steps from the lower side. It contains the hall, the meeting-rooms of the "Catholic Association for Medical Missionary Welfare Work," and several admirable guest-rooms on one side of the long central corridor; on the other side lie the kitchen, pantry,

cellars, Röntgen store room, and a snug gymnasium, all partly below the level of the rising ground outside. The next storey contains the chapel (very beautifully finished in the modern style), refectory, recreation rooms, and several bed-rooms. The second storey contains the library, a lecture-room, a small laboratory, a study-hall, the Director's apartments. The remainder of the building, with the exception of a small museum, consists of single rooms and dormitories for students. The Institute is undoubtedly an exceedingly practical and suitable hostel.

The main preoccupation of the Medical Mission Institute is, of course, the housing and feeding of its students. In winter the house is full (over 60); and the students go to their lectures to the university and to the hospitals below in the town. When the young men leave in summer, courses of lectures for nursing sisters are held in the town under the auspices of the Institute; 117 sisters have been sent out as certified nurses in the seven years during which these courses have been arranged. Moreover, from the beginning of August to the middle of September a six-weeks' course in practical medicine is given for missionaries; 77 missionaries have availed of this admirable opportunity during the past six years, and many of them have written back later to the Institute, expressing their deep gratitude for the valuable instruction they received.

The training of a doctor takes at least seven years. Now, the Institute began in a very tiny way in November, 1922; moreover, many of its students have taken post-graduate courses of a specialist character, in order to fit them the better to deal with the peculiar difficulties of the mission to which they promised their services. Nevertheless, missionary doctors have already been sent from Würzburg to China (several), Zululand, Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, the East Indies and other missions. One of the Institute's pioneers and its first martyr of charity,

Dr. Anna Roggen, went to the Indians of Brazil; but, conditions there proving impossible, she returned to Europe and soon afterwards set out for Tsinanfu in China, where she died in a few weeks of double pneumonia. Her self-sacrificing charity had already made her one of the best loved figures in the Chinese city, and many hundreds of persons followed her coffin to the grave.

A glance at the day-book of one of the Institute's distant sons may be of interest. At the beginning of 1928 Dr. Joseph Tietze sailed with his young wife for Dutch East India, and arrived at Maomere on the island of Flores in May, 1928. ("Maomere is a dangerous malaria centre," wrote Dr. Tietze a week or so later, "and on that account we ask for many prayers, that we both keep in good health.") Early in 1929 he sent home to Europe an interesting statistical account of his growing practice. During the last six months of 1928 (June 1st to December 31st), 6,593 patients were treated, 2,157 of whom received intravenal injection of salvarsan. Consultations were held on 23 days per month, with an average of 35 patients per day; 4 days a month, on the average, were spent on journeys, which totted up to a total of nearly 1,000 miles. Dr. Tietze has not yet got a hospital, but only a dispensary, a consulting-room, and two small rooms with four beds for very urgent cases. Nevertheless, 29 cases were treated at the station, necessitating 53 operations; one case (hydrocephalus) was sent away, as leave to operate was refused. There were five deaths, all cases which arrived much too late in the doctor's hands; one was a man with a broken arm, who was brought to the dispensary a month later with high septic fever and the arm badly gangrened. The two cases of snake-bite were both cured. The six months were in one respect eventful, because at the beginning of August a neighbouring island was severely visited by a volcano-outbreak and a tidal wave, and Dr. Tietze was an

important member of the hastily-organized relief expedition.

Similar accounts of fine work done could be quoted from China or from any of the other missions served by the Würzburg doctors. We have chosen our illustration from the East Indies, however, because a letter from Mrs. Tietze, dated July 28, 1928, gives a charming picture of the other side of a missionary doctor's life :—

Our little house is finished and in order at last. It was truly no easy task to make a real home of it, but now it is indeed our home in the fullest and deepest sense. When I returned last week from four quiet days of retreat with the Sisters in Lela, I and my husband realized so clearly that we have here, not merely a house, but a true home, and that we have the ground now firmly under our feet in Maomere .... There is work and to spare here both for my husband and myself, and that is all that matters to a missionary doctor's family, I wish you could hear what a happy, contented, grateful tone lies in that word " a missionary doctor's family ....

Your greatest anxiety about us wives of missionary doctors is, doubtless, that we may not be able to bear the great loneliness. My husband has indeed a district of 120,000 souls to look after ; the natural consequence is, that he is on his rounds for two-thirds of each month, and I am left to myself. Despite this, I can put your mind quite at rest on my own account. In every home the wife has more than enough work of various kinds to do during the whole morning, even if she does not carry out the work herself, which here both the heat and the conventions combine to forbid. But the servants are as helpless as children, and have to be told what to do and how to do it again and again. So the morning passes very quickly in giving orders, overseeing servants and seeing that things are done right, and I am very glad to have the afternoon and evening to myself for reading and study. Our first task was to learn Dutch, then Malayan, and as here in Maomere the only language spoken is Siccanese, so we must learn that too. My husband learned the languages much quicker than I, because his dealings with the natives gave him more practice in speaking. As soon as I can speak Siccanese well, I mean to busy myself more with social work, and take a hand in the various women's Sodalities. The Missionaries here are overwhelmed with missionary work, and are heartily glad

to be relieved as far as possible of the more social activities. The experience which I gained as a member of the GermanCatholic Women's Association during the time of my engagement will prove an excellent preparation for the problems to be solved out here . . . .

Out here there is no opening for private practice. The mission authorities were well aware of this, and on that account fixed my husband's salary at a figure which enables us to live without anxieties and as becomes a doctor's family, even without private practice . . . .

One lays down with regret the interesting *Jahrbucher* of the Würzburg Institute. There is much therein that is well worth the quoting; many an unadorned record of high idealism, of devoted service, while through it all rings the happy note of men and women who have found their vocation and who are glad to the depths of their being at the privilege of being allowed to spend their lives for Christ. It is surely no sin to envy Germany her Medical Mission Institute. If we only had something similar in Ireland! For, despite the accusations occasionally thrown out about the decay of the missionary spirit in the Ireland of to-day, self-sacrifice and idealism are no rarer among medical students in Dublin than in Würzburg. How soon will these precious qualities be enlisted in the service of the Church? Meantime, until Dublin opens her own Medical Mission Institute, Irish medical students may be glad to know that the doors of the Institute in Würzburg are by no means closed to them. The Institute is ready to take its students wherever it finds them, if only they have in them the stuff of which missionary doctors are made. Inquiries have recently been addressed to Dr. Becker concerning the possibility of young Chinese joining the Institute; the answer has been in the affirmative and cordial.

D. Donnelly.

NICOLAS POUSSIN

BY THOMAS BODKIN, D.LITT.
Director of the National Gallery, Dublin

TO the question: Who is the foremost literary artist of France, there is no positive answer possible. For there is no writer who occupies a pre-eminent position in France, as Shakespeare does in England, Dante in Italy, Goethe in Germany, or Cervantes in Spain.

Racine has strong claims to rank highest; but if we admit that this severe poet is the finest literary exponent of the French spirit, what must we think of the immense, but so different, gifts of Rabelais; and how should we place Corneille, Molière, La Fontaine, Voltaire, Balzac, or Ronsard? There are, also, many Frenchmen who, when asked to name the prince of French writers, would still give the famous reply—Mais, malheureusement, Victor Hugo!

The response of Frenchmen to the question: who is the greatest of French painters, would be almost unanimous for Nicolas Poussin.

It is true that foreigners, in general, do not share that preference. The English, for instance, admire Watteau enormously, thanks to the fine examples of his work which are found in the Wallace collection, and also, possibly, because the English are prone to discover in his pictures, so tender, so sad and so mysterious, a gauloiserie that Watteau himself had never sought.

Others, who understand better the true nature of voluptuousness, prefer to take their pleasure in the blonde, suave and libertine inventions of François Boucher.

Italians would, doubtless, render homage to Ingres above all, because of his avowed and earnest imitation of Raphael.

We Irish, unfortunately, do not trouble ourselves much about such questions. I imagine that Edouard Manet might be our national choice, when we recall Sir Hugh Lane's "Eva Gonzales" and "Concert aux Tuileries" and the eulogies of Mr. George Moore.

It is not difficult in any capital city to range at will throughout the golden field of French literature and to form predilections and judgments after reference to all the relevant evidence. But it is undoubtedly difficult to form, outside of France, a just estimate of French pictorial art. The Louvre must be often visited before we can hope to understand fully why such apparent irreconcilables as Delacroix, Ingres, Millet and Cezanne have all united to praise Nicolas Poussin without reserve.

An acquaintance with the main facts of his life is a useful preliminary aid to an understanding of his art. He was born in 1594, at Andelys, under the shadow of the Château Gaillard. His father was a retired soldier of inferior rank. His mother came from a lower middle-class family. There would seem to be no warrant for the pretensions to noble origin which some of his biographers rashly advance on his behalf.

Though at first destined for the Church, we find him, at the age of eighteen, working under the tutelage of Quentin Varin, a fifth-rate artist whose only claim to remembrance is in that chance association. A few years later he set out for Paris and studied, for a brief while, first under the portrait-painter Ferdinand Elle and later under L'Allemand, both men of less than mediocre capacity. He is said, also, to have worked with Pourbus: but this would seem to be an error, derived from Balzac's "Le Chef-d'oeuvre Inconnu." A chance acquaintanceship with a young man called Alexandre Courtois, who was keeper of Louis the thirteenth's collection of prints, proved to be of great importance to Poussin. Courtois gave him access to the treasures in his charge and introduced him, in particular, to the engravings by Raimondi from the

PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST
(*Louvre, Paris*)

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THE ENTOMBMENT

works of Raphael, which he studied with fanatical enthusiasm and which left a lasting impression on his own art.

These first inspired him with the notion of visiting Rome. After a few desultory and unprofitable journeys through France, he set out for Marseilles on foot in 1720. Thence he took boat to Genoa; from Genoa he walked to Florence, where he spent some time amid the Medicean treasures of art. For an unknown reason, described by his biographers as a misfortune, probably a mere lack of pence, he failed on this occasion to reach Rome.

In 1622 he is supposed to have been at Dijon. In the following year he met Philippe de Champagne, at Laon, and formed with him a strong and lasting friendship. Thence he drifted back to Paris, where he tasted success for the first time, with a commission from the Jesuits to paint six large decorations in distemper for their College on the occasion of the Canonization of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier.

These were seen by the Cavaliere Marini, who was then one of the most popular personages in Paris. He sought out the painter, and befriended him by putting a few small commissions in his way. When Marini returned to Rome, in 1623, Poussin formed the resolution to follow him; and he did so within twelve months. For a little while he enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Baberini, the Pope's nephew; but, when the Cardinal left Rome, he found himself again without resources and was reduced to sell one of his pictures for two crowns.

At this crucial moment he became acquainted with the sculptor François Du Quesnoy, better known as Il Fiamingo, with whom he went to lodge, and under whose tutelage he made assiduous studies in architecture and perspective. He also frequented the academy of Domenichino. The Commendatore Cassiano del Pozzo, a man of great culture and a famous art collector, soon became his best friend. He influenced Poussin

considerably. We still possess a great number of the letters which the painter addressed to him.

Poussin's earliest known works were all painted in Rome and are all of classical and biblical subjects, treated with remarkable severity and grandeur, colour being subordinated to design. When his growing reputation reached France they became sought for by his countrymen, to whom he sold them cheaply. From the start his prices were low, averaging about one thousand francs according to the number of figures depicted. Even after he had become one of the most famous painters of his day, he never thought of profiting through his enhanced reputation and, despite a life of economy verging on austerity, he died a comparatively poor man.

In 1630 Poussin married, at the Church of San Lorenzo-in-Lucina, Anne Marie Dughet, whom he had met as a girl, years before, in her father's house at Lyons. There is scarcely any mention of her in his letters, but they evidently lived most happily together; for when she died, in 1664, he wrote to his friend Paul Fréart de Chantelou expressing most bitter sorrow.

This Chantelou, who was maître d'hôtel to Louis XIII, apparently first encountered Poussin when he visited Rome in 1639. In that year the King had written to Poussin, assuring him that he was regarded as one of the most famous painters of his day, appointing him Peintre du Roi and urging him to return to France. At first, he refused the flattering proposal, and wrote to Chantelou telling him that he had lived for fifteen years in Italy, had married, and hoped to die there. But he was over-persuaded, and, in the company of Chantelou, returned to Paris before the year was out.

On his arrival he found a house ready for him, handsomely furnished and stocked with wine, provisions and all other necessities. Richelieu received him most cordially. He was immediately given a salary of two thousand crowns, appointed Premier Peintre du Roi,

put in charge of the decorations of the Louvre and commissioned to design tapestries and frontispieces for choice editions, not to speak of painting pictures for the King and the Cardinal.

Naturally, the honours paid to him excited the enmity of local artists, who made his life hideous by their jealous contentions. Poussin, no courtier and quite unfitted, either by inclination or temperament, to cope with intriguers, soon made up his mind to return to Rome. In a final interview the King proposed to give him a handsome pension if he would undertake to establish an Academy in Paris; but he persisted in his intention to revisit Italy, stating, as an excuse, his desire to bring his wife back with him to France.

He regained Rome towards the end of the year 1642, and remained there till he died, a childless widower, in 1665. During all these years he led a secluded life in the Via Polina, now the Via del Babuino, close by the Pincian Hill. Claude Gellée, his countryman, was his near neighbour. We may be sure that each respected the other's genius, though there is little evidence of intercourse between them.

His brief interlude in France had not been wholly unprofitable, for he had, naturally, become acquainted there with every rich patron of the arts. These now vied eagerly with each other in seeking examples of his work. He painted assiduously to satisfy their needs, allowing them often to suggest the subjects of their choice. We must regret that he did not always indulge his own preferences.

From 1642 onwards his history is written almost entirely in the pictures which he produced, surely and steadily. The only one which he left unfinished is that which stood upon his easel on the day of his death, "The Love of Apollo and Daphne," now in the Louvre.

No great painter shows a less adventurous technique. The earliest pictures which we have from his hand are

almost as competent in execution as those of his ripe maturity. Mr. Roger Fry has well said: "He always gathered what he went out to seek." Accidental effects never, apparently, interested him; nor did he take pleasure in the manipulation of paint for paint's sake. There is no trace of virtuosity in his work. Each picture is built up slowly and methodically, with every touch calculated to secure an advance, in steady progression, towards a pre-determined achievement. Yet his technical competence was such that his pictures remain in a superb state of preservation, showing, as a rule, no detriment save a slight darkening, which is due to his occasional predilection for painting on a red ground. This ground rises through the pigment with the passage of time. Many of his best pictures in the French public galleries are also obscured by dirt and coats of discoloured varnish, which tend to give them an unduly sombre appearance. But whenever his work can be studied in clean and well-cared-for examples, we must marvel at the range and charm of the colour-schemes which he employed. He was obviously influenced by the great Venetians of the sixteenth century, particularly by Titian, whose Bacchinals he copied in the Palazzo Borghese; and, though he does not attain to the opulent splendour of their best colour effects, he often achieves a richness peculiarly his own by the use of an amazing variety of brilliant, but never clashing, hues.

If Poussin's art can be said to be characterised more by one merit than another, that merit is his power of composition or design. The rhythm of his pictures is well-nigh perfect; line echoes line, form supports form, shadow and light are exquisitely mingled, and every tint employed enhances the others. The eye roams his conceptions without temptation to rest on any salient passage, or to stray beyond the limits of their borders. As a master of pictorial composition he can rival Raphael himself. Yet Poussin's pictures seldom suggest, as

Raphael's often do, that they were the produce of a spontaneous impulse. He himself explained his success by saying: "Je n'ai rien négligé," and sometimes, even, his work seems to recall, a little too pertinently, another of his sayings: "Ce ne sont pas des choses que l'on puisse faire en sifflant."

Though a study of his technique is of little assistance in enabling us to conjecture the date of any one of his pictures, a study of their subject matter, in cases where we know the subject to have been one of his own selection, enables us to divide his work, roughly, into three periods.

At the outset of his stay in Rome he was immensely impressed with the monuments of ancient art, which he then discovered for the first time. Classical buildings and sculpture captivated his thoughts. His passion for the architecture of the ancient Romans is reflected in many of the pictures of that time.

Later on a growing familiarity with Latin literature, of which he was an earnest student all his life, turned him towards those scenes from pagan mythology which occupied him so extensively between the years 1630 and 1640.

In his closing years he became more prone to seek his inspiration in the Bible. The profoundly moving "Entombment" of the National Gallery of Ireland has strong claims to be considered as the culmination of his career in all senses of that word.

Though everything he painted reflects a classical bias, his art is unmistakably, in essence, French. There is always apparent an unflinching method, a homage to form and design, a reasoned order, a comeliness that is never extravagant. He loved, with ardour, the literature, the ruins, the very soil of Rome. Entirely typical of his outlook is the reply which he is reported to have made to an amateur seeking antiques for his collection. Poussin stooped and gathered from the path on which they stood a handful of particles of marble, sand, cement

and porphyry, mingled with blades of grass, which he gave him, saying: "Voici Seigneur, emportez cela pour votre musée; ceci est de l'ancienne Rome." Yet no man affords a better illustration of the famous maxim of La Rochefoucauld: "L'accent du pays où l'on est né demeure dans l'esprit et dans le coeur comme dans le langage."

His abiding love for landscape is a characteristically French trait. It grew with the passing years, but from the start, as M. Louis Hourticq has pointed out, "il est d'abord un paysagiste, il place 'l'histoire' dans la 'nature.' Jamais il n'emprisonne ses acteurs dans les quatres murs d'une maison ou d'un palais, à moins qu'il n'y soit obligé par son sujet."

His vivacity, his curiosity, his eager interest in personalities, his frank delight in expressive pantomime are all qualities which carry him outside, and perhaps above, the fixed limits of the true classic spirit.

He was never afraid to come into direct contact with life. In the "Philistins frappées de la Peste" the people, searching for their dead kindred in the devastated city, hold their noses. In the "Mort de Sapphire" the child in his mother's arms is sucking his thumb. In the "Israélites recueillant la manne dans le désert" a boy grasping a vase upsets it, while its owner pushes his face. In his "Bacchanales" we constantly find fawns and amoretti adopting the exact attitudes of tipsy peasants and exuberant street-urchins. Such incidents are very far from classic in conception. Treated by a lesser man they would be ludicrous; yet Poussin uses them to enhance the impression of turmoil, tragedy, or gay riot which he desires to convey, and never allows them to detract from the comprehensive dignity of his compositions.

Very few of his own opinions on his art are extant. Though he is supposed at one time to have planned a treatise on the subject, it is doubtful if this idea could

have been successful, for the one hundred and eighty letters from him which are preserved show that his literary gifts were slight. We can, however, quote his ruling principle, which was that objects should be looked at by the painter "avec l'idée d'une application particulière": in other words, that it is not the painter's office to attempt the simple representation of nature nor even to interpret nature, but to use the raw material of nature as a language for the conveyance of his personal emotions.

An occasional stray phrase in his letters illustrates, unconsciously, this attitude. In one he says: "Les belles filles que vous aurez vues à Nîmes ne vous auront, je pense, pas moins délecté l'esprit par la vue, que les belles colonnes de la Maison Carrée, vu que celles-ci ne sont que des vieilles copies de celles-là."

The literature on Poussin is extensive, but still very incomplete. Our main sources of information are his letters, which have just been published in scholarly form for the first time by M. Pierre de Colmbier; the "Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes," published by Felibien in 1685; the "Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e d'Architetti Moderni," published by Bellori in 1672; and "Nicolas Poussin, premier peintre du Roi," by M. Emile Magne, first published in 1914. Dr. Walter Friedländer and Dr. Otto Grautoff also published, in the same year, large and valuable books on Poussin. Mrs. Esther Sutro wrote the first English study of the Master in 1923, but it is not of much account.

Felibien and Bellori had the advantage of knowing Poussin personally, though neither of them met him till he was past middle age. Their records are regrettably brief. M. Magne's work errs, on the contrary, by being too voluminous, particularly in the second edition which was published in 1928. He invents conversations and conjectures episodes in a way that detracts from the value

of the undoubtedly important mass of information which he has laboriously accumulated.

There also exists a vast amount of purely critical examination of Poussin's art, dating from the days when each picture, as it arrived from Rome in Paris, became a topic of animated discussion among the members of the Academy and the collectors of the age.

No convincing catalogue raisonné of his pictures has yet been compiled, though Andressen, John Smith, Dr. Grautoff and M. Magne have all made efforts in that direction.

Poussin is generally credited with about three hundred and fifty pictures and thirteen hundred drawings, but the actual number is probably far in excess of these figures. He sometimes painted copies, variants or recensions ; but he never borrowed a composition or even a single figure invented by another painter, with the possible, sole exception of his " Saint Cecilia " in the Prado, which seems to owe something to Domenichino.

The time for a thoroughly scholarly and critical account of his life and works has long since arrived, and scholars all over Europe look for it eagerly from some such universally recognised expert as M. Paul Jamot. When it at last appears, the fame of Poussin, which has never been dimmed in the centuries which have passed since his death, will become greater than ever, and the world in general will have more reason to understand the homage which French painters of all schools unite in tendering to him.

Foreigners will probably continue to be disconcerted at the variance of his countrymen's views. Ingres, for example, considered him to be the inflexible custodian of a stern tradition. Delacroix spoke of him as the most ardent revolutionary in the history of painting. Yet the greatest masters of French pictorial art have always united in declaring :

" Qui que tu sois, voici ton maître.
Il est, le fut, ou le doit être."

THOMAS BODKIN

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J., M.A.

XIV

IRELAND OPPRESSED

This poem is apparently addressed to the head of the Barrys of Barrymore (v. 1 note). They were patrons of the poet's family (*Irish Monthly*, 1928, p. 548), and moreover suffered heavily at the hands of the Percevals. The Perceval referred to (v. 5) is probably either Sir Philip (*b.* 1605, *d.* 1647) or Sir John (*b.* 1629). The former, according to Lodge (ii, p. 214), succeeded his father as Register of the Court of Wards, and thus acquired vast estates—some 100,000 acres—in various parts of the country, but chiefly in Cos. Cork and Tipperary. He fought at first on the side of the king, and then from 1644 on was a strong supporter of the Parliament. Sir John, his son, was sent in 1653 to arrange the transplantation of the Catholics into Connaught. As the *floruit* of the poet is unknown, we cannot say which of these men is the more likely object of his attack.

Diarmuid mac Taidg mic Diarmuda Óig i Dálaig, cct.

1. Do finnead comuidig ar féagain d'Éireannchaib
lé bpréimfearthain [d'foruirid] ar an nGréagfuil ngniomarthaig
táinig néal a-noire le a nuarlighthid
tré mbuaidirthir loire fréamh an fiodhartaig.

2. Uchán [at rochair] glóir na ngaoidhealra
do chóid an bhaoineangra i gcrothaibh céimionnra
an dtiocfa choidche thar imlinn an uamuinre
doilbhe an luaguilre ag ingreim na hÉirionnra.

3. Do radrad chreachlóig cáig mun naoimhinir
daoiriuir reachnóin an chláir chaobhfoluir
fine Gaoidheal i ndeachraib go ndeorafrair
gleogadhair fhaoinead an ealtain aondoruir.

4. Ní thorchuir do Theamhraig bilig bhreacttolchaig
ar fealbhaig d'eactranncaib ar finib iochtChobtaig
a-tá d'forlann ar a gruaidh ngartfaircig
gur fartailceil buaidh a gcomlann gcniocttconfaidh.

5. Ní ḋeaċaiḋ i ɡcṙéiḋim [ɡun ċluinnṫean] ṗeaṙṙaḃáil
aṙ cuiṙmeaḋ ḋo ċṙeaṙɡaḃáil aṙ Éiṙinn eiṙɡilṙíḋ
ɡiḋ eaḋ iṙ ḋaoiṙṙe ċlóiḋ ḋon ċleaṙṙaḋúiṙ
meaḃṙanúiḋ an laoiċṙe ḋon ṗóiṙ ṗeiṙċiníl.

6. A-táiḋ ṗṙaoċɡoill ɡo ṗaoiliḋ ḋá ɡceiṙilṁeilt
aɡ ṫreiṙinɡeilt aṙ ṗaoṙċloinn an ɡaoiḋil ɡeiṙoiṙḃiṙt
iṙ ṗoɡa ɡliaḋ nó iṙ ṗóɡṙa ṗṙaṙaiṁniṙt
Assignment aṙ ɡaċ ṗiaḋ ḋ'ṖóḋIa eiṙoiṙḋiṙc.

Ḋo ṙinneaḋ.

Translation

1. Foreigners to all seeming have Irishmen become owing to the crowd of watchmen poured out over the doughty Greek race ; owing to their new customs a cloud has now come down, dimming the brightness of the families of princely Barry.

2. Alas ! the glory of these Gaoidhil is departed. This gentle land has come on hard mischances ; will she ever pass beyond the centre of this terror ? Praeternatural is the power afflicting Éire.

3. Plundering bands of strangers, fighting for the holy island, have spread a slavish religion throughout the bright-branched land ; the Gaoidhil's race is in sore straits with foreign hordes ; ruin has violently afflicted the " one-door " flock.

4. The foreigners who settled on gentle Cobhthach's races have not yet been cast out from wooded elf-hilled Teamhair ; there is such oppression on her bright-parished land that the glory of their valorous knights' conflicts has violently overwhelmed her.

5. The oppression that was begun on Éire of the bright fairy-cascades was not lessened by this stock of Perceval ; nay, ruinous slavery to the festive land is the destruction-plan (?) which this warrior has formed for the marriage-bound stock.

6. Fierce Goill are gaily occupied in cruelly trampling on, heavily browsing on, the nobles of the law-abiding Gaoidheal ; assignment issued on every part of noble-cascaded Fódla means a choice of fight, or else outlawry in complete helplessness.

Notes

[MS. : 23 L 17, f. 138 *b*.]
Ḋ. ṁic Ṫ. ṁic . . . . Ḋáia.

1 *a* cuiṁɜɡh— ; ɸéaċuin *b* bṙiéiṁṙeaṁṫuiṙ ḋṙoiṙinn. *d* Ḃaṁṫaiɜ (*for* Ḃaṙṙaiɜ) is strange form, perhaps, as Fr. P. Walsh suggests, on analogy of Caṁṫaċ. 2 *a* a ttoṁċuiṙ. *b* bṙaoiɡanɡa. *d* ḋoilṙe ; inɡṙeiḋm. 3 *d* ealta aonḋoṙuiṙ, *i.e.*, poets, the class whose tomb had only one door ; *cf.* Three Shafts, p. 161 ? 4 *c* nɡaṙṫṙaṙch— 5 *a* a ccṙeiḋm ɡo cluinṙin. *c* cleaċtṙaḋúiṙ. *d* ṙeiṙċiníl. 6 *c* aṙ ṙoɡa ɡ. nó aṙ.

IODINE AND POTASH FROM IRISH SEAWEED

BY THOMAS DILLON, M.A., D.SC.

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IN 1812, Courtois, a saltpetre maker of Paris, observed that the copper vats in which he was extracting kelp were being rapidly corroded. In his search for the cause of this corrosion he discovered that some salts which he had extracted from kelp, on treatment with sulphuric acid, gave off a beautiful violet vapour which condensed to a shiny black solid. He communicated his results to the Académie des Sciences, and the further investigation of the new body was undertaken by Gay-Lussac, who demonstrated that it was an element. He suggested for it the name *iodine*—from the Greek ἰοειδής, violet.

The scientific interest of the new element was immediately evident, as its resemblance to the already known fluorine and chlorine directed the attention of chemists to the existence of families of elements. Nor had it long to wait before its industrial or practical importance was recognised. In 1815 Davy showed that not only seaweeds, but also sponges and other marine organisms contained iodine. In 1820 Coindet, a Geneva physician, correlated these discoveries with the fact that seaweeds and burnt sponges had both been used from the time of the ancient Greeks, and even before, as cures for goitre. He suggested that the curative agency in these substances was iodine, and he proceeded to administer tincture of iodine to patients suffering from goitre. The results were excellent. Subsequently the bad effects of the administration of excessive doses by less skilled practitioners and the absence of any definite physiological evidence of a connection between iodine and the thyroid

gland, gave rise to doubts as to the efficacy of the iodine treatment. These doubts were not set at rest until 1895 when Baumann discovered that the thyroid gland contained iodine, and isolated from it an iodine-containing organic compound which he called *thyroidin*, and which was capable of producing all the physiological effects associated with the thyroid.

Thus was the medical practitioner satisfied. Not so the chemist. For him the structure of the iodine compound must be worked out and confirmed by its synthesis in the laboratory. The accomplishment of this feat is one of the recent triumphs of organic and biochemistry. In 1919 Kendall in America isolated the iodine containing portion of thyroidin as a crytalline body, which he named *thyroxin*. Seven years later Harington, at the London University College Medical School, improved on Kendall's method of extraction, and after a study of its chemical properties suggested a structural formula for the substance. In 1927, in conjunction with Professor Barger of Edinburgh, he confirmed this formula by synthesising in the laboratory a substance identical in all respects with the thyroxin extracted from the thyroid gland. Harington and Barger's artificial thyroxin was shown to have all the physiological properties of the natural product. Thus, after the lapse of more than a hundred years, Coindet's therapeutics were fully vindicated. Some idea of the difficulties overcome by the chemists concerned in this work may be gathered from the fact that one ton of sheep thyroid yielded one ounce of thyroxin.

The chemical researches of Kendall and of Harington by no means represent all the work that has been done of late on the physiological aspect of iodine. Within recent years physiologists have been interested in the part played by minute quantities of certain elements in the economy of the organism. While the great bulk of living matter is made up of about a dozen elements (such

as carbon, hydrogen, nitrogen, sodium, chlorine, etc.), it has come to light that the presence of certain other elements in small proportions is necessary for the growth and healthy life of animals and plants. Of these accessory elements iodine is, for various reasons, the most interesting. First, the effects on the organism of a deficiency are striking and disastrous. Secondly there are certain parts of the world where the quantity of iodine in the soil is insufficient to supply the needs of the human and animal population, and where the diseases associated with iodine deficiency are much in evidence both among the human inhabitants and the farm animals. Thirdly, the detection of minute quantities of the element does not present insuperable difficulties, and investigations on its physiological effect offer a reasonable chance of yielding definite results. These and other reasons have been sufficient to stimulate a considerable amount of research by scientific workers in various parts of the world on the effects of iodine on the development and maintenance of the animal and vegetable organism. A review of the information so far obtained has come to us from the famous Rowett Institute for Agricultural Research at Aberdeen, in the form of a pamphlet issued by the British Medical Research Council.[1] Such a critical survey by two active workers in this field should be all the more welcome to medical men and to agriculturists because of the irresponsible statements one sometimes hears as to the effects of iodine on the health of farm animals and crops as well as of human beings. It will not only be of great use to those engaged in research on this and allied branches of animal and vegetable physiology ; but should also enable the " general practitioner " in agriculture as well as in medicine to arrive at a just estimate of the relation of iodine to organic life, according to existing

[1] *Iodine in Nutrition. A Review of Existing Information.* By J. B. Orr and I. Leitch. Medical Research Council. Special Report Series, No. 123. London : H. M. Stationery Office. 1929. 2s. 6d.

information, and should thus prevent the misinterpretation and misuse of new discoveries.

On reading such a pamphlet as this, one cannot but be struck by the absence of even a tentative hypothesis as to the chemical functions of iodine in metabolism. We have a series of observations on the effects on the general metabolic process of a deficiency or an excess of the element; but no one appears to have so far succeeded in correlating its chemical properties with its metabolic functions. It is obvious, therefore, that our knowledge of the matter is in a rudimentary state. Nevertheless a number of empirical facts have been collected. On the medical side these facts have mainly to do with diseases arising out of thyroid deficiency. For the majority of people the information obtained on the agricultural side will be more interesting.

The agricultural results are concerned with nutrition in both animals and plants. With regard to animals it is clear that a deficiency of iodine leads to sterility in adults and to arrest of development in the young; and it is also clear that excessive dosage with iodine may be highly injurious. On the other hand the results reported on the effects of moderate doses on apparently healthy animals are rather vague and contradictory, and further experiments are required. It seems not unlikely however that when a more thorough investigation has cleared up the contradictions, it will be shown that a very carefully regulated administration of iodine compounds has a beneficial effect on certain kinds of stock.

The findings so far with regard to plants appear to be much more definite than in the case of animals. While excessive application of iodine is injurious, a moderate quantity is beneficial. Thus in experiments with sugar beet, Stocklasa found that manuring with iodine increased the yield of tubers by twenty to thirty per cent.; and as this increase was effected without changing the sugar content, the sugar yield per acre was increased by this

amount. Later experiments by the same observer, during last year, show that the application of iodine to this crop may be easily overdone.

These facts are of world-wide interest to farmers. To us in Ireland they are interesting not merely from the agricultural point of view, but also for the reactions they may have on our seaweed industry. For about two hundred years seaweed has been a raw material for chemical industry along our west coast. For not less than that period, the enormous quantity of seaweed thrown up on these shores has been collected, dried and burned, to obtain the ash known as kelp. Until about the first quarter of the last century kelp was one of the world's chief sources of alkali. About 1830, however, chemical science had developed more efficient methods for obtaining this important product, and the kelp industry would then have completely died out but for the discovery of iodine and its application in medicine. This application was not, of course, confined to the correction of thyroid deficiency. The element itself (in alcoholic solution) and certain compounds of it, such as iodoform, have found extensive application as antiseptics, while various iodine salts are also in the pharmacopoeias of the world. Outside of these there is a demand for iodine in the synthetic chemical industry. This is said to absorb about one-fifth of the world's output, the remaining four-fifths being used in medicine.

This demand for iodine was at one time met by the kelp-burners of Ireland, Scotland, Brittany and Norway. There were iodine factories in Donegal and Galway, besides several in Glasgow and along the Breton coast, and the kelp industry flourished in these districts. Soon however a competitor appeared. The nitrate deposits of Chile contain a very small percentage of sodium iodate. This body accumulated in the liquor from which the nitrate was crystallised, and when the annual exports in tons of Chile nitrate ran into seven figures the annual

accumulation of iodate became very considerable. In the eighties of the last century the nitrate manufacturers began to export iodine. The cost of production of this bye-product was much lower than that of the iodine from kelp. If the market had been capable of expansion this would have indeed been serious, but might not have been fatal. But as the demand for the substance has been so far confined to medicine, the market is restricted, and it is said that the annual accumulation of sodium iodate in Chile could supply it ten times over. The consequence of this competition was that the European factories began to close down. Those in Ireland were amongst the first to succumb, and they were followed by several in Scotland. When the Chilean producers judged that things had gone far enough, they entered into a combine with the surviving European makers and with Japan, which country was a late comer into the business. The combine agreed to keep the price of iodine at such a level that production from kelp would pay and allotted to each member an area in which to sell.

It may be mentioned that the position of combines is not always as strong as they would like it to be believed, and iodine producers outside the combine are not unknown. Notwithstanding the competition of Chile and the restricted market, there is an iodine factory in every kelp producing country in the world except Ireland. On the Breton coast the industry appears to be in a flourishing condition. The neighbouring country is rich, with a soil of good quality and a climate whose mildness in the spring allows of the production of such profitable crops as fruit and early vegetables. The fishing industry too is well known for its prosperity. And yet we find that seaweed, which in Ireland is scarcely regarded as worthy of attention, is in Brittany an additional source of wealth to the maritime population. There are several small iodine factories, which are now being somewhat consolidated, and the kelp-burning goes

on along the shore under the supervision of the factory managers. The consequence of this close co-operation between the factory and the kelp-burner is that the yield of iodine per ton of kelp has been enormously increased, while the price paid to the kelp-burners appears to be at least double that prevailing in Ireland.

Irish conditions are unfortunately very different from those outlined above. Ireland's function is to fill up the requirements of the Scotch manufacturers when they have bought all the kelp they can at home. Although the raw material is on the spot, the necessary combination of capital, enterprise and knowledge has not appeared for the revival of iodine production in this country. The consequence of this to the kelp industry is serious. The kelp-makers are in the hands of agents for foreign buyers, and the price paid for the commodity is not very high and is by no means certain. Purchase is based on a somewhat perfunctory test, which has given rise to distrust among both parties to the transaction, with the result that in some districts the quality of the kelp has much deteriorated. The Ministry for Fisheries, by providing a satisfactory test, has recently taken steps to see that the quality of the kelp is improved and that the interests of the kelp-makers are protected. These measures should certainly produce a good effect; but it is clear that the industry will not be stabilised until a factory is established and kelp-burning becomes, as in Brittany, a stage in the production of iodine carried out on the spot.

I do not wish it to be taken from the above remarks that I consider the absence of an iodine factory in Ireland to be due to our having a double dose of original sin. The conditions in Brittany are very different from ours. Brittany has the French market in which to sell. For Ireland the home market, which might be secured by protection, would not be sufficient to maintain a factory. Except in goitrous districts, where a deficiency of iodine

in the soil must be made up, the consumption is proportional to the population, and on the basis of the population of the Irish Free State (where goitre is not unusually prevalent) our consumption must be small. Moreover, much of the iodine imported is in the form of proprietary medicines, and an import tax would not lead to the use of Irish iodine in their production. An Irish factory would thus have to compete in the restricted world market, and this is perhaps a sufficient explanation of the non-existence of such a factory. Nevertheless in view of the quantities of raw material we possess and in view of the fact that we go so far as to produce kelp from that material, it is clear that an attempt to establish such a factory should be made.

An Irish iodine industry, though it should certainly exist, cannot evidently be very large as long as the demand for iodine is practically confined to medicine. The experiments on nutrition mentioned above are, however, an indication that a change in the character of the market is not impossible. The iodine required by a plant is a minute quantity; but if, as seems likely, the addition of a small quantity of iodine per acre to the soil is proved to be necessary in order to meet these requirements, then the demand for the substance should increase rapidly. Iodine may also be found desirable for stock; and indeed already, perhaps a little prematurely, it is being incorporated in some feeding stuffs. If further experience proves that these agricultural innovations are sound in principle, the seaweed of our western coast may become the basis of a very important chemical industry.

There is another aspect of the seaweed industry which ought to be mentioned here. It has, perhaps, been too widely assumed that iodine forms the only possible basis for the utilisation of the material. The laminariae thrown up on our shores contain, in addition to iodine, another extremely useful body—namely, potash. This substance

is of such supreme importance in agriculture that all countries are anxious to have a home supply. The more potash we use, the better for our agriculture. It has indeed been suggested that any government that distributed potash free to farmers would be well repaid in increased yield of taxes from the increased prosperity that would ensue. The possession of a home supply of such an important commodity would have the advantage that increased use would not mean an increase in imports. Furthermore a home producer would have much greater interest in and opportunity of pushing his wares among the farmers than any foreigner; and thus a home supply would lead to an increased use of potash with consequent benefits to agriculture. If therefore we could develop our seaweed as a source of potash we would diminish our imports, we would improve our agriculture, and we would go far towards solving the problem of finding employment for our impoverished Irish-speaking population. Such a development would be thus of very great economic importance to the country, and to know whether it is feasible should be of great interest to us. Its possibilities will therefore be briefly discussed here.

M. Paul Kestner, President of the French Société de Chimie Industrielle, in a paper published in the Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry in the year 1918, gives over a million tons as the world consumption of potash in the year preceding the war. Of this quantity about nine-tenths was consumed in agriculture. Before the war the agricultural demand was rapidly increasing, and since the cessation of hostilities it has probably been doubled. This potash comes mainly from certain deposits which have been discovered in various parts of the globe. The chief of these is the famous Alsatian deposit; but the material has also been found in other parts of Europe, while in America salt lakes, notably Lake Searles in California, have been utilised as a source.

The possibility of using seaweed as a source of potash

turns therefore on the question whether such a product could compete with that of the mines of Europe. A comparison of the two sources shows that such competition is by no means unthinkable. Turning first to the European product, we find that the salts mined at Stassfurt contain from 7 to 10 per cent. of potash (reckoned as K_2O). This material must be recrystallised in order to raise its potash content sufficiently for use in agriculture. The Alsatian deposits are richer and more uniform in composition. They contain, on an average, 22 per cent. of potash and may be applied to the land without further treatment. On the other hand the percentage in kelp is low. It often falls to 5, while the average is 10 per cent. Laboratory experiments, however, have revealed the fact that these figures have little relation to the quantity of potash in seaweed ash. In 1916 Dr. Hendrick published the results of a long series of analyses of the ash of laminariae.[1] These analyses showed that when the seaweeds were burnt under laboratory conditions, the percentage of potash in the ash was very high. The minimum was about 16, while the average was 26·7 per cent.

The figures quoted above show that the question whether seaweed can be made a source of potash resolves itself into two parts: first, whether the cost of harvesting and burning the weed can be reduced to such a level that it may be set off against the cost of mining potash in Central Europe; secondly, whether the large scale production can be made to give results comparable to those obtained in the laboratory.

Again, seaweed is an organic body, and when it is burned, the organic matter is lost. If it were possible to separate the salts from the organic matter and, instead of destroying the latter, to work it up into a saleable bye-product, the outlook for the industry would be immensely improved. The organic matter might be utilised in any of three possible ways: the manufacture of algin, destructive

[1] *Journal of the Society of Chemical Industry*, vol. 30 (1916), p. 565.

distillation, and fermentation. The first of these, the manufacture of algin, cannot be said to have gone near to the realisation of the high hopes that were entertained with regard to it at the time of its discovery by Stanford forty-seven years ago. The substance has indeed remarkable properties which suggest the possibility of utilising it as an adhesive, as a waterproofing material or as a substitute for vulcanite. Technical difficulties have, however, so far not allowed of its production at a competitive price, and although it is possible that successful methods of manufacture and of utilisation may be evolved in the future, there is at present neither a great output nor a great demand for the substance.

As to destructive distillation there are varying reports. It is said that in Scotland much money has been spent on experiments in this direction, without any satisfactory results. In America on the other hand, where experiments on this and other aspects of the seaweed industry have been made, the process of destructive distillation is said to have been quite successful.

The third process, that of fermentation, was actually worked in California during the war, in order to obtain calcium acetate for the manufacture of acetone, a substance required for the production of explosives. An elaborate plant was erected for this purpose; but at the conclusion of the war it was closed down. Nevertheless fermentation is perhaps the most hopeful method of utilising the organic matter, as it would probably involve least expenditure on plant, labour and fuel.

The American experiments, which have been referred to above, are of great interest. They were part of an investigation carried out by the government of the United States, with a view to finding a home supply of potash. The seaweed experimented on was not identical with our laminariae, which do not occur in these regions, but a sort of submarine tree known as *macrocystus pyrifera*, which grows to a great height off the coast of

California. This plant contains very little iodine, while its potash content is very variable and on the average is probably much less than that of the laminariae. Dr. J. W. Turrentine, who carried out the experiments, came to the conclusion that if the bye-products of destructive distillation were all utilised, the potash obtained in this way could compete in price with potash from other sources. This conclusion took no account of the cost of harvesting, which on the Pacific coast appears to be the chief stumbling-block in the way of the industry. If, as seems likely, our harvesting does not present the same difficulties, then the prospects of a potash industry based on seaweed should be bright.

I have pointed out above that under present conditions an Irish iodine industry could not be of very large dimensions, and while I have suggested the possibility of a new growth due to the use of iodine in agriculture, it is evident that such a growth, if it comes, may be very slow. On the other hand the seaweed industry, while it may not be capable of bringing a great fortune to any individual capitalist, means much to the impoverished districts along our west coast, and hence one would like to see it based on something larger and more stable than the iodine market. For that reason I have endeavoured to show that there is a *prima facie* case for a technical investigation of the possibility of obtaining potash from our seaweed. It will doubtless be asked, if such a thing is possible, why is no other country doing it? The answer is that in no other country do the same circumstances occur: a large population living in a state of semi-starvation on an impoverished coast, the necessity of preserving that population not only for humanitarian but for national reasons, and the occurrence of an enormous quantity of seaweed thrown up annually on these shores. If we have not the intelligence to solve this problem for ourselves, no other country will do it for us.

THOMAS DILLON.

INDENTURED SERVANTS AND NEGRO SLAVES IN BARBADOS (1642–1650)

BY AUBREY GWYNN, S.J., M.A.

THAT Cromwell's Government transported many thousands of Irish men and women, and sold them as slaves in the Barbados, has been a commonplace of Irish history since the days of Dr. Lynch and his *Alithinologia*. Before we enquire into the truth of this statement, it may be well to discuss some contemporary evidence as to the actual conditions prevailing in Barbados and the neighbouring islands of the West Indies towards the middle of the seventeenth century. Fortunately such an enquiry is easily and pleasantly made. For there exists an account of the island, written just at this time by an English adventurer who had spent three years in Barbados, and whose evidence is all the more valuable because nowhere in his work does he show the least interest in the fate of Irish as distinguished from English or Scottish servants. Add to that the fact that this gentleman adventurer was also the master of an admirable English style, as free and as attractive as the style of Defoe at his best, and we have indeed good reason to praise our fortune. For the most part this contemporary witness shall be let tell his own story in his own simple words.

To begin with the title of his work, which is itself a literary composition in the best seventeenth century style. It runs as follows :—

A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados. Illustrated with a Mapp of the Island, as also the Principall Trees and Plants there, set forth in their due Proportions and Shapes, drawn out by their severall and respective Scales. Together with the Ingenio that makes the Sugar, with the Plots of the severall Houses, Roomes and other places, that are used in the whole processe of Sugar-making; viz., the Grinding-room, the

Boyling-room, the Filling-room, the Cureing-house, Still-house and Furnaces. All cut in Copper.

By Richard Ligon Gent.

London. Printed for Humphrey Mosely, at the Prince's Armes in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1657.

The book itself is a small quarto of 120 pages with several illustrations. The first edition contains an Epistle Dedicatory to Dr. Brian Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury; and a Letter from the Lord Bishop "to me then in prison, after he had perused my Book." The Epistle Dedicatory is dated from Upper Bench Prison, July 12th, 1653. The Bishop's Letter is dated from Richmond, Sept. 5th, 1653.[1]

From his narrative we learn that Richard Ligon was "above sixty years" when he set out on his new venture "upon the sixteenth day of June, 1647." He was by profession something of an artist—as is proved indeed by his copper-engravings of the trees and plants of Barbados. He can quote the rules of "that great Master of Proportion Albert Durer," and his artist's eye adds a touch of vividness to his descriptions of men and women, and the scenes of nature which he noted on his travels. He was something of a musician too, and tells us how he tried to teach one of the Negroes on Barbados to play the Theorbo. And he can quote his Classics with the best of them—Vitruvius in particular, for he had studied architecture, and is particularly interested in the mistakes made by the planters in the planning of their houses. Altogether a pleasant, cultured, kind-hearted man, who can put a brave face on his misfortunes, and who ends his narrative with a neat Latin quotation, that consoles him for the disappointments of life: *Mors Sceptra Ligonibus aequat.* Many a crowned head has got less value out of life than Master Richard Ligon, Gentleman Adventurer in the Island of Barbados.

[1] A second edition, with the same copper-plates but without Epistle Dedicatory, Letter or Verses was printed in London in 1673.

The narrative begins with the voyage out, which was not by the direct route to Barbados, six weeks being the ordinary time. Instead they went by Madeira and the Cape Verd Islands, the last stage of their voyage taking some 16 or 17 days. When at last they sight the island, all are astonished at its beauty: the long, trailing foliage of the trees, which had given the island its name, and the picturesque site of the plantations.

> As we put along near the shore, the plantations appeared to us, one above the other, like several stories in stately buildings, which afforded us a large proportion of delight. So that we begged of the Master to take down these of his sails that gave the ship the greatest motion, that we might not be deprived on a sudden of a sight we all were so much pleased with . . . . . [And in Carlisle Bay] we found at anchor 22 good ships, with boats plying to and fro, with sails and oars . . . . so quick and numerous as I have seen below the bridge at London.

But these first impressions were soon changed on landing. For they found a plague raging on the island, "so that the living were hardly able to bury the dead." And Ligon goes on to moralise on its cause, in the light of his later experience. "Whether it were brought thither in shipping . . . or by the distempers of the people of the island: who by the ill diet they keep, and drinking strong waters, bring diseases upon themselves, was not certainly known. But I have this reason to believe the latter; because for one woman that died, there were ten men; and the men were the greater deboystes." And to the plague there was added the threat of famine, "there being a general scarcity of Victuals throughout the whole Island."

It had been the intention of Ligon's friend, Colonel Thomas Modiford (afterwards Sir Thomas Modiford, Governor of Jamaica, and a pioneer of British imperialist policy in the West Indies), only to touch at Barbados, and then pass on to "plant" in Antigua. But the ship with "men, victuals and all utensils fitted for a plantation"

had miscarried; and they were soon told "by the most knowing men of the Island" that it was far better to purchase a plantation ready furnished, and not venture all on a new and doubtful venture. As it happened, one of the principal planters on the Island, Major Hilliard, was anxious to return home; and Colonel Modiford was able to purchase half his estate for £7,000. As Ligon takes this estate of Hilliard as a model throughout the rest of his speculations on the chances of success or failure, it will be as well to give more exact particulars.

The whole plantation included some 500 acres. Of these 200 were given over to the raising of sugar-cane; 80 were in pasture; 120 were woodland; 30 were planted with tobacco, 5 with ginger and as many more with cotton; and 70 were set aside for the production of provisions, especially corn, sweet potatoes, cassavie and bonavist (a kind of kidney bean). For the working of this estate there were kept 28 Christian servants, 96 negro slaves, 3 Indian women and their children. In addition to "a fair dwelling house" there were the necessary huts for all these servants and slaves, numerous outhouses and—above all—the "Ingenio," which has such a prominent place on Ligon's title-page. A full plan of this elaborate machine is given towards the end of the book, with minute explanations as to its working. But I leave the details to those who may take the trouble to look up Ligon's charts for themselves.

Of the life on a plantation such as has just been described, Ligon gives us a very vivid picture. Sugar-planting was a recent development when he reached the Island in 1647, having been introduced from the mainland five or six years previously. As a result, the value of these plantations had risen enormously: according to Ligon, Major Hilliard's 500 acres, which were worth £14,000 in 1647, would have been worth no more than £400 were it not for the sugar-cane. And he has some interesting calculations as to the probable

effect of this new industry on the population of the island.[1] When he left it in 1650, those who knew the island best calculated that there were "not less than fifty thousand souls, besides negroes," and the English inhabitants were able to put an armed force of some 10,000 infantry and a thousand horse into the field. Of these many were small planters with holdings of not more than ten, twenty or thirty acres; but experience had shown that sugar could not be grown economically on such small holdings. From which Ligon concludes that these small holdings would soon be absorbed into larger plantations of five, six or seven hundred acres. The result would plainly be to increase very largely the proportion of servants and slaves to free men on the Island.

Of these latter Ligon gives a very full account. "The whole island," he says, "is divided into three sorts of men, viz., Masters, Servants and Slaves." These distinctions are made even more plain by a letter from an Englishman named Barrington, who visited the island in 1655. In it he distinguishes between those free labourers who have "served in the country for their freedom, or paid their passage when transported from England."[2] This is the system of "indentured service" familiar to all students of early English colonial history. Emigrants, voluntary or otherwise, who could not pay their passage to the New World, "indented" themselves to some merchant in London or Bristol or other port, and were then liable to be sold on arrival for a definite term of service. According to Barrington, "if they are over seventeen years of age, they serve but four years according to the law of the island; but if under seventeen, then it is left to the discretion of the merchant, as he can agree with the planter." These

[1] The island of Barbados is 21 miles long and 14½ miles at its broadest. Its present population is just under 200,000, the negroes out-numbering the whites by 9 to 1.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report VII. App. 571.

terms were not always the same. In Ligon's time, some years before Barrington's visit, five years was the ordinary term of service for adults; and a law of 1661 fixed the term for children under seventeen at seven years. Once that term had been completed, the servant was free, and might be allotted land on the island. But not many lived to see the day, as Ligon's story makes abundantly plain.

> The slaves and their posterity (he is speaking of the negro slaves), being subject to their masters for ever, are kept and preserved with greater care than the servants, who are there but for five years according to the law of the Island. For the time the servants have the worse lives, for they are put to very hard labour, ill lodging, and their diet very slight. When we came first on the Island, some planters themselves did not eat bone meat above twice a week: the rest of the seven days, potatoes, lob-lolly and bonavist. But the servants no bone meat at all, unless an ox died; and then they were feasted as long as that lasted. And till they had planted good store of plantains, the negroes were fed with this kind of food.

Lob-lolly, we had better explain, is a mess of maize made "by pounding it in a large mortar, and boiling it in water to the thickness of a Frumentie; and so put in a tray such a quantity as will serve a mess of seven or eight people; give it them cold, and scarce afford them salt with it." It was plainly a very economical kind of food, and the Christian servants were largely fed on it. But the negroes would not take it. "When they come to be fed with this, they are much discontented and cry out: O! O! No more Lob-lob." Later the masters fed them on plantain, "and they were no more heard to complain; for 'tis a food they take much delight in. One bunch a week is a Negro's allowance. To this no bread, nor drink but water. Their lodging at night a board with nothing under, nor anything a-top of them. They are happy people whom so little contents. Very good servants, if they be not spoiled by the English."

Later, as we shall see, improvements were made in

this diet; but when Ligon first came to the Island, the lot of a Christian servant was hard enough in all conscience.

As for the usage of the servants, it is much as the master is, merciful or cruel. Those that are merciful treat their servants well, both in their meat, drink and lodging, and give them such work as is not unfit for Christians to do. But if the masters be cruel, the servants have very wearisome and miserable lives. Upon the arrival of any ship that brings servants to the Isles, the planters go aboard, and having bought such of them as they like, send them with a guide to his plantation; and being come, commands them instantly to make their cabins, which they not knowing how to do, are to be advised by other of the servants, that are their seniors. But if they be churlish and will not shew them, or if materials be wanting to make the cabins, then they are to lie on the ground that night. These cabins are to be made of sticks, withs and plantain leaves, under some little shade that may keep the rain off; their suppers being a few potatoes for meat, and water or mobbie for drink. The next day they are rung out with a bell for work at six o'clock in the morning, with a severe Overseer to command them, till the bell ring again, which is at eleven o'clock; and then they return and are set to dinner, either with a mess of lob-lolly, bonavist or potatoes. At one o'clock they are rung out again to the field, there to work till six, and then home again to a supper of the same. And if it chance to rain and wet them through they have no shift, but must be so all night. If they put off their clothes, the cold of the night will strike into them; and if they be not strong men, this ill lodging will put them into a sickness. If they complain, they are beaten by the Overseer; if they resist, their work is doubled. I have seen an Overseer beat a servant with a cane about the head, till the blood has followed, for a fault that is not worth speaking of; and yet he must have patience, or worse will follow. Truly I have seen such cruelty done to servants as I could not think one Christian could have done to another; but as discreeter and better-natured have come to rule here, the servants' lives have been much bettered; for now most of the servants lie in hammocks and in warm rooms; and when they have come in wet, have shift of shirts and drawers, which is all the clothes they wear, and are fed with bone meat twice or thrice a week.

A little later in his work, Ligon describes the masters of these servants. "They are men of great abilities and

parts," he says, and we may well believe it; "the managing of one of their plantations being a work of such a latitude as will require a very good head-piece to put in order and continue it so." After the details he has just given of their treatment of the unfortunate servants on their estates, it is a little disconcerting to find Ligon also describing them as "loving, friendly and hospitable one to another." But human nature is full of oddities, and the account he gives of this English community, living at peace in exile when England at home was in the throes of a Civil War, is not without its charm. "Their discretions ordered everything so well as there never were any fallings out between them: which to prevent, some of the better sort had made a law amongst themselves, that whosoever named the word Roundhead or Cavalier, should give to all those that heard him a Shot and a Turkey, to be eaten at his house that made the forfeiture, which sometimes was done purposely that they might enjoy it." "After I came away, it was otherwise," says Ligon from his prison in London; and truly enough. For the Civil War was at last carried across the Atlantic, and Barbados was for a time a Royalist stronghold in the New World; all of which can be read in a very pleasant little book by Mr. Darnell Davis, entitled: *Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados.*[1] But the war was soon over, and a friendly compromise was reached before Master Richard Ligon was released from the Upper Bench Prison.

One of these planters deserves a special notice for his more humane conduct towards his servants. Colonel Walrond was one of the most influential planters on the Island, and Ligon speaks of him as having "been bred with much freedom, liberty and plenty" in England. His estate was near the sea, and twice or thrice a week he invited his friends to partake of a table well stocked

[1] Argosy Press, Demerara, 1883. The book was printed for private circulation. I have been able to use a copy from the library of the late Dr. Michael Cox of Dublin.

with the various sorts of fish that his servants had caught in the open waters. He had been kind, too, to Master Richard Ligon, when the latter fell ill towards the end of his stay on the Island, and that may explain why we hear so much of his virtues. But at any rate they are very much to his credit.

Colonel Walrond seeing his servants when they came home, toiled with their labour and wet through with their sweating, thought that shifting of their linen was not sufficient refreshing, nor warmth for their bodies, their pores being much opened by their sweating; and therefore resolved to send into England for rug gowns such as poor people wear in hospitals, that so, when they had shifted themselves, they might put on those gowns and lie down and rest them in their hammocks. For the hammocks being but thin, and they having nothing on but shirts and drawers, when they awaked out of their sleeps, they found themselves very cold; and a cold taken there is harder to be recovered than in England, by how much the body is enfeebled by the great toil and the sun's heat. But this care of Colonel Walrond's lost him nothing in the conclusion; for he got such love of his servants as they thought all too little they could do for him.

Later, when Master Richard Ligon was lying a prisoner in the Upper Bench, he amused himself by drawing up a complete list of all requirements for a prospective planter in the Barbados. These rug gowns are not forgotten in the list, and it is interesting to note that, whilst the linen for the shirts and drawers is to come from England, and the "Monmouth caps" from Wales, the rugs are to be "Irish rugs, such as are made at Kilkenny, and these are to be had at St. James Fair at Bristol." And to the rugs he adds "Irish stockings", to be worn by the Overseers, for the common servants went bare-legged all through the island. It is not for nothing that their descendants to-day are still known as "Red-legs."

All the masters were not as thoughtful or as generous as Colonel Walrond, and it is not surprising to hear from Ligon that during his stay on the island the Christian servants conspired to cut the throats of their masters on a given day, and so "make themselves not only free

men, but masters of the Island." The plot came near to succeeding, for it was only betrayed by one of the conspirators on the day preceding the appointed date; the alarm was given, an examination was held of all suspected of the conspiracy, and eighteen of the ring-leaders were executed. Such alarms must have been common enough in the Island, where slaves and servants were so numerous. As a rule the negro slaves were too frightened of their masters and their guns to think of rebellion; but Ligon speaks more than once of run-away slaves as one of the Island's constant troubles, and there was always danger of something worse. Indeed the whole island was elaborately organised with a view to such an outbreak. A system of alarms from plantation to plantation had been worked out, and each house was well fortified. One curious precaution was taken in most of the houses. The water kept in the cisterns was kept partly for drink, but also as a weapon of defence. It could be thrown down, scalding hot, on the naked bodies of the negroes as they advanced to the attack; "which is as good a defence against their underminings as any other weapons."

How far the negroes were kept distinct from the Christian servants during the hours of work is not made plain in Ligon's narrative. According to Barrington "these servants planteth, weedeth and manureth the ground, all by hand"; to this list Ligon would add wood-cutting and the all-important work in the "Ingenio." Probably some of the rougher work was reserved for negro labour, at least by the more considerate masters; but it is plain that for the most part the Christian servants worked in the field from morning to evening for six days in the week. Outside of the hours for work, negroes and Christians messed and slept apart, and it was a rule of the island that the negroes prepared the food for the Christians. On the other hand the negro slaves, for the reason that their children also belonged to the master,

were allowed to found families, a thing that must have been impossible for a Christian servant. Indeed it was the custom on the Island that a good negro worker should be rewarded by permission to keep two or three wives. Christian teaching was no obstacle, as the law forbade planters to make Christians of their slaves. Technically the negro was in the inferior and more humiliating position; but Ligon's words are probably true enough, that "the servants have the worse lives." How many died during their years of service is nowhere definitely stated; but the death-rate, even among the free population, was abnormally high. There is a grim reminder of this fact at the end of Ligon's book. Among the other items of his estimate for a prospective planter's outfit, we find an entry of £20 for black ribbon, "for mourning is much worn there, by reason their mortality is greater."

The chief medicine used against the fevers and other diseases inevitable in so tropical a climate seems to have been a very strong spirit, made from the distilled skimmings of the sugar. "This drink," we are told, "is of great use to cure and refresh the poor Negroes, whom we ought to have a special care of, by the labour of whose hands our profit is brought in; so is it helpful to our Christian servants too .... for when they find their stomacks debilitated and much weakened in their vigour every way, a dram or two of this Spirit is a great comfort and refreshing to them." One negro lost his life by letting a jar of this spirit come too near the flame of a candle. Ligon tells the story regretfully, for the loss of the good spirit no less than for the death of a good servant. "If he had in the instant of firing clapt his hand on the bung, all had been saved; but he that knew not that cure, lost the whole vessel of Spirits, and his life to boot."

Another favourite drink on the Island—Ligon names nine of them in all—was Punch. "Of that I have drunk," he says, "it is made of water and sugar put

together, which in ten days standing will be very strong, and fit for labourers." But the "last and best sort of drink that this Island or the world affords is the incomparable wine of Pines; and it is certainly the Nectar which the Gods drunk, for on earth there is none like it. And that is made of the pure fruit of the juice itself, without commixture of water or any other creature, having in itself a natural compound of all tastes excellent that the world can yield." The fruit here praised so highly is the familiar pine-apple: "your Queen pine," as another English traveller of this time called it. "It is held such a dainty fruit that King James swore it was the apple that Eve cosen'd Adam with."[1] Master Ligon gives us a drawing of this well favoured fruit: it was not likely to appear often at the table of servants or slaves. For them the regular drink was "mobbie," and this was "only potatoes boiled and press'd as hard as they can, till the juice is gone into fair water; and after three hours this is good drink." It does not sound very appetising, but Ligon assures us that "it is a sprightly and a quenching drink. I cannot liken to it anything so near as Rhenish wine; but it is short of it in the strength of the spirit and fineness of the taste."

Drunkenness was common on the island, as we might expect from Ligon's list of wines and spirits. An anonymous visitor to the island, whose account seems to have been written about the time of Ligon's visit, gives an equally lively description of the island's inhabitants. "For the merry planter or freeman," he says, "to give him a character, I can tell him no otherwise than a German for his drinking, and a Welshman for his welcome. He is never idle; if it rains, he topes securely under his roof; if fair, he plants and works in the field; he takes it ill if you pass by his door and not taste of liquor."[2] And

[1] *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, I, p. 149.

[2] Edited by V. T. Harlow, in *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana* (Hakluyt Society, 1925), p. 42

Henry Whistler's Journal, written in 1655, describes the island and its inhabitants in language which is better not quoted. "The dunghill whereon England doth cast forth its rubbidge," is only one of many vivid phrases.[1]

And here perhaps I may be permitted to quote yet another witness, less trustworthy than any of those hitherto brought in evidence, for he was himself a known liar and reprobate: Master Tom Verney, the scapegrace of the Verney family, who was sent out to Barbados by his father in 1639, and again in 1642. Writing home to his father, he says:—

> The evils that doth most annoy us, is partly and chiefly drunkenness, your landcrabs, etc. First drunkenness. Were it not for that great sin, this would be one of the bravest Islands I ever heard of: but it doth so increase, that I have seen upon a Sabbath-day, as I have been walking to church, first one, presently after another, lie in the highway, so drunk that here be landcrabs in the land that have bit off some of their fingers, some their toes, and hath killed some before they awakened; yet this doth not at all afright them. More I could say, but as they are beasts, so let me leave them like beasts. [And after so edifying a preface, he adds a postcript to his letter asking for] six cases of strong water for the men to drink every morning a dram, to keep them in health, (for my part I drink none).[2]

This same Tom Verney helps us to understand a point that Ligon does not make very plain. How did the planters get servants to offer themselves for service on terms so intolerable to ordinary human nature? In his parting words of advice to the future planter, Ligon says: "If you can get servants to go with you, they will turn to good account, but chiefly it may be Tradesmen, as carpenters, joiners, masons, smiths, paviers and coopers." Such skilled servants would plainly be given pleasanter work, and better terms, than the common servants who did the work in the fields. But they were evidently not easy to come by. And where did

[1] Edited by Firth, in the *Narrative of General Venables* (London, 1900), p. 145.
[2] *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, I, p. 150.

the common servants come from? A hint may be gathered from an incident that happened on one of the Cape Verd Islands on the voyage out to Barbados. Here certain women from on board the good ship Achilles are mentioned, and we are told that "the major part of them, being taken from Bridewell, Turnboule Street and like places of education," were well able to look after themselves. Tom Verney is more explicit. On his first trip to Barbados he seems to have gone out unprovided with men. At any rate his first letter home asks for "twenty able men, whereof two be carpenters, and a weaver who can weave diaper." And in a letter to his mother he asks for "household stuff, plate, spoons and the like, then pewter and brass of all sorts, and linen of all sorts, both for me and my servants." And he adds: "I am now building a sorry cottage to harbour men when I have them."

He was back in Europe that time before well establishing himself on the island. Three years later his father sends him off again, this time with servants from round about the family estate. But they fell ill when they landed and he did not know how to care for them. So he just sold them "to a chapman," and wrote home for a hundred more. His father will get them "with the great help of Bridewell and the prisons." As for those who had gone out from his home, above all things he is anxious that word should not get out that he has sold them to a stranger. "If any of my men's friends do enquire of you how they are disposed of, I pray answer them with as much brevity as may be that they are all well, and are upon another man's plantation till my return thither again. And if they should tell you that I have put them off to other people, tell them that it is not so, and endeavour to the utmost of your power to persuade them to the contrary."[1]

Shameless deceit could hardly be more frank in

[1] *Ibid*, p. 154.

utterance. The tenants on the Verney estate had been induced to emigrate with one of the landlord's family under false pretences. Once safely in the West Indies, they had been sold at the first mishap like so many cattle. How many of them were ever likely to see Buckinghamshire again? At all costs the scandal must be hushed up, else there will be little prospect of finding volunteers in the future. And in the meantime young Master Tom turns to the Bridewell and other prisons for help. That was in 1642. Tom Verney was not the only young scapegrace of an adventurer whom England sent across the seas to the New World. Need we wonder that ten years later Master Richard Ligon is not too hopeful of finding volunteers for service in the Barbados? Cromwell's policy of sending out prisoners of war and what we should now call "political prisoners" must have come (at first) as a godsend to the hard pressed planters.

Of the women little is said by Ligon or Verney, though Ligon counts ten women to twenty men as a good proportion among the Christian servants, on an estate of some 500 acres with a hundred negro slaves. Five of the ten are for work in the house, the other five for "the common work abroad." They are cheaper than the men, costing only £3 11*s.* to clothe a year, whilst the men cost £4 4*s.*, and they eat less. "Four barrels of beef and as much of pork yearly" is the allowance Master Ligon makes for the meat eaten by all the thirty servants in a year, and we may be sure that many would have thought it over generous.

How many of these servants, men and women, were Irish at the time of Ligon's stay on the Island? Nowhere does he give us a hint, though of one plantation he says: "I can name a planter there that feeds daily two hundred mouths, and keeps them in such order as there are no mutinies amongst them; and yet of several nations." For evidence as to the number of Irish emigrants at this period, we must turn elsewhere. Yet one item of infor-

mation we do gain from Master Ligon's map of the Island. In all there are more than 300 plantations marked with the names of the owners. The list can hardly be complete in view of the figures which Ligon himself gives for the population of the Island, though it is possible that the number of land-owners was relatively few. Among them we find—away at the far end of the island—a house with the name Patrick, and near it two houses marked Terill. There is a third Terill nearer the town, and the names Hayes and Hales also occur. Moreover quite close to the town a house is marked with the inscription : " Yrish m." (? Man or master). So that even among the upper class of planters Irish names are not altogether missing. But the vast majority of the names on the map are pure English—as we should expect in an island that has always boasted its loyalty and pure British descent. Such Scotch and Irish settlers as may have been in Barbados during Ligon's visit, were either servants or free men who had served their time. As to their numbers, either absolute or relative to the rest of the population, we have neither hint nor clue.

But one Irishman crossed Ligon's path on his return home in 1650, not altogether to his liking. He " embarked at twelve o'clock at night on April 15, 1650, which time our Master made choice of that he might the better pass undescry'd by a well known pirate, that had for many days lain hovering about the Island, to take any ships that traded for London, by virtue of a Commission, as he pretended, from the Marquess of Ormonde. This pirate was an Irishman, his name Plunquet, a man bold enough ; but had the character of being more merciless than became a valiant man. But the night covered us from being discerned by him, and so we came safely off the Island."

It was just as well. For if Ligon had been captured by Plunket, we might never have enjoyed the reading of one of the pleasantest books of travel ever written.

AUBREY GWYNN.

THE NEW MENANDER AND THE ORIGINS OF HIGH COMEDY

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At the end of Plato's *Banquet* there is a famous scene in which Socrates is depicted in the early morning hour, when the cocks were crowing for daybreak and all the other guests had either succumbed to sleep or gone home, as still drinking out of a great bowl, and compelling the drowsy Aristophanes and Agathon to admit that their respective arts of Comedy and Tragedy are functions of one and the same poet. We are unable to say whether the hard-headed old thinker was serious at such an hour in this paradoxical utterance. To us, indeed, with our modern experience of Shakespeare and of the *drame sérieux*, it is scarcely a paradox at all. It was so, however, to Plato and even to Aristotle, who based the distinction between the arts on a fundamental difference between the Serious and the Laughable, and regarded them clearly as separate professions. In the lifetime of Aristotle himself a revolutionary change was taking place, which was destined not so much to bring the distinct arts within the range of a single poet, as to fuse them into a single art. The dramatic type which grammarians were afterwards to call the New Comedy was indeed the bodily successor, so to speak, of the very different Aristophanic Comedy from which it took its name. It occupied the same stage, was produced at the same festivals, and was expected to amuse the descendants of Aristophanes' patrons. But it was no longer a real "Revels" as the old comedy had been, and its chief inspiration, as well as most of its technique, did not derive from comedy at all, but from Euripides, whom Aristotle had called the most tragic of poets.

So immensely successful and influential a type of amusement did the New Comedy prove to be that certain modern critics have wished to confine to it and its numerous progeny a title in which they have after all only a reversionary interest. George Meredith, in his famous Essay, would exclude Aristophanes himself from the bounds of true Comedy. "The test of true comedy," he says, "is that it shall awaken thoughtful laughter." This seems also to have been the judgment of Molière, although he was too great and universal a genius to live up to it always in practice. "C'est une étrange entreprise," says his Dorante, "que celle de faire rire les honnêtes gens." It was the difficulty of making decent folk laugh which in fact caused the revolutionary change from Old to New Comedy in the fourth century B.C., and the complaint of Dorante had been anticipated by the Athenian poet Antiphanes during the throes of the transition. The effect of the revolution was to bring comedy and Euripidean tragedy so close together that some later critics distinguished them only by the social status of their characters. Tragedy, they said, had kings and princes for its subject, comedy ordinary mortals. Such had by no means been always the case, for the earlier comedy had found in the burlesque of heroic sufferings and adventures one of its chief delights. In truth, *a priori* definitions and distinctions have less validity in this matter than usual. Tragedy and comedy and their joint descendant were alike the products of social and historical forces, which could overleap at need all categorical limitations. George Meredith's attempt at logical abstraction was not, as he thought, the outcome of cold and rigid reasoning, but was predetermined for him by the social and literary history of Athens in the lifetime of Menander, who created High Comedy out of the most heterogeneous elements because it suited his own genius and the taste of part at least of his public to do so.

The history of Western civilisation has been largely

the story of how Athenian ideas, conventions, and creations have been successively adapted, altered, and refurbished to suit varying needs. In no case is this truer than in that of modern comedy, down at least to the middle of the nineteenth century, and in no case is the story more interesting, because the influence of Athens over the amusement of later ages has been at once peculiarly indirect and peculiarly powerful. The great philosophical systems of the Middle Ages were based on a solid foundation of Athenian wisdom; the works of Plato and Aristotle were known to the Schoolmen indirectly indeed, but through the medium of accurate translations which fell little short in the end of the originals themselves. The modern comedy of Italy, Spain, France and England derived equally from Athenian sources, but through a medium hopelessly distorted; and yet the more this vast field is surveyed, the more clearly it will be seen how much both in essence and in accidentals it has been shaped and prepared by the great originators of fourth century Athens. It is possible to imagine that this is because all drama must necessarily move within narrow limits, and that since the stage and the theatre are themselves a Greek invention, the literature that feeds them must also keep certain general characteristics of its origin. The influence goes far deeper than this, for even the greatest playwrights have not been exclusively inventors, but have taken their good where they have found it. Modern comedy began in Italy when Plautus and Terence became once more interesting at the Renaissance. In imitating Plautus and Terence, the Spanish writers of "cloak and sword" plays, Udall, Shakespeare and Ben Jonson in England, and finally the greatest modern comic poet, Molière, with his army of followers in the French, English, German and Scandinavian comedy of manners, all indirectly were imitators too of Menander and followers of a peculiar Athenian convention. High comedy has in turn had a powerful reaction on lower farce; and even nowa-

days, when the comedy of manners is long since dead, the lineaments of Menander can still be traced in the most popular French sketch and in the latest "talkie" from Hollywood. The sources of George Meredith's thoughtful laughter still supply unthinking common folk with Attic fun.

The Roman poets who preserved the Greek New Comedy to be so fruitful an element in modern literature, turned to its adaptation for a semi-barbarous public at a time when it was still a fashionable entertainment on the Greek stage. Plautus wrote towards the end of the second Punic War, and Terence half-a-century later when the Roman upper classes had leisure to be cultivated. The comedy of Plautus is largely an Italian creation, with much more of the burlesque and farcical spirit than that of his refined successor, who for the most part merely translated Menander. Even Terence was found sapless and mechanical by later Roman taste. Caesar calls him a "half-Menander," and deplores the loss in him of the comic force which his great original united with elegance. It was through the *opéra bouffe* of Plautus and the thin compilations of Terence that Menander made his way to the modern stage. Only when his long race was nearly run did his original works begin to be recovered. A fragmentary manuscript of him was found on three strips of parchment in the monastery of Mt. Sinai, in 1844; and since then a constant trickle of new texts has come from the sands of Egypt. The most valuable discovery was made by a French scholar, Lefebvre, in 1905. It is the remains of a volume of plays which was used by a notary of Justinian's time to protect his legal documents in an earthen vessel. It is now at Cairo, and contains nearly fifteen hundred lines of five comedies. By means of this and numerous other fragments it has been possible, after long and intricate labour, to reconstruct the greater part of one play, *The Arbitration*, and considerable passages of half-a-dozen others, of which the least incomplete are:

The Shorn Mistress, *The Woman of Samos*, *The Hero*, *The Hated Lover*, and *The Husbandman*. Although only enough has come to light to make us feel our loss more keenly, scholars are now in a position, by a comparison of the real Menander with his imitators, to arrive at a reasonably safe appreciation of his plots, style, and language, and to judge his dramatic art with more than the shadow of his great name to guide them.

Menander was born in 342 B.C., forty years after the death of Aristophanes, just when Philip of Macedon was working up to his last campaign for the subjugation of the small states of Greece. His youth was passed during the period of Alexander's great march across Asia, and his middle life during the earth-shaking scramble of Alexander's generals for the mastery of the world. He died at the maturity of his powers, it is said by drowning, in 290 B.C., when the vastly-extended area of the new cosmopolitan Greek culture was settling down to an uneasy equilibrium of great military powers under Macedonian dynasties. During his lifetime Athens, which for nearly two centuries had occupied the middle of the political arena, was pushed out to a humble position on the half-forgotten edge of things. He was the contemporary of the thinkers who heralded a totally new age: Theophrastus, successor of Aristotle in the Lyceum; Demetrius of Phaleron, the instrument of Macedonian dominance in Athens from 317 to 307, and afterwards first head of the Alexandrian Museum; Epicurus and the Semitic Zeno, whose philosophies of conduct were to be the principal forces among educated men for many centuries to come. With the first three in particular he had close relations, and his intellectual kinship with them was often visible in his work. His family was of Athenian origin and well-to-do; he was the nephew of Alexis, one of the two greatest poets of the Middle Comedy which bridged the gap from Aristophanes to himself. He began to produce plays at an early age, in 324 B.C., and from that year till

his death he competed at every Dionysiac festival. The total number of his comedies is variously recorded, but was certainly more than a hundred.

During his lifetime his work does not seem to have been popular, and we are told that his rival Philemon was preferred before him, apparently because the public wished for more burlesque and farcical comedies than Menander would give them. None the less, it seems certain that Menander was the real originator of what was most novel in the comedy of his time, and that his rivals imitated him wholesale while mingling more of the traditional type of humour with their imitations. After his death he was soon recognised as the standard writer of comedy, and the art never again departed far from his canons. He was one of the few poets ranked nearly as high as Homer. Scarcely any other poet was so much quoted, read, and admired. His sententiousness, in which he imitated Euripides, made him be treated as a quarry for proverbial sayings, and in the Roman period a collection of these seems to have been widely used in elementary education. This collection is the source of most of the fragments known before the nineteenth century, and caused him to be regarded by modern critics as more sententious than he really was. Saint Paul quoted from him the saying, "evil communications corrupt good manners." Caesar's ejaculation as he crossed the Rubicon was a phrase from Menander, and Augustus is said to have died quoting the last line of one of his plays, asking applause for a worthy performance. "He whom the gods love dies young"; "Homo sum: nihil humani a me alienum puto"; "The bravest is he who knows how to suffer most patiently"; "Pray not for freedom from grief, but for fortitude"—are examples of sayings of his which became common maxims. At one period, we are told, when the Roman Empire was in decay, Homer and Menander were the only authors most people read. It is uncertain whether his works finally perished because of

pedantic prejudice against the raciness of his Attic, or were lost in the fury of the puritan Iconoclastic heresy.

When we try to account for the age-long vitality of Menander's comedy we are met at the outset by two surprising facts. It was not, as we should expect, the product of a vital or expansive society, but of an age of cautious decline. Neither was it the result of a natural and spontaneous outburst of poetical creation; it was essentially and thoroughly artificial, doubly conventional both in its own nature and in the source from which it principally drew. A far-reaching alteration in the condition, character and manners of the Athenian people was proceeding all through the fourth century, from the restoration of democracy after the Peloponnesian War, and had nearly reached completion in Menander's time. The shift in the political centre of gravity caused by Alexander's conquests only accelerated a process begun long before. We can see even in the speeches of Isocrates, and still more in the early orations of Demosthenes, how much the average Athenian had lost the exuberant patriotism and intense militarism which had distinguished his ancestors a century earlier. Along with the decline in political interest went a rise in the general level of culture. Attic life was more urbanised, the rustic ceased to be prominent or influential. Even vice, which did not grow less, was more refined. Democracy came to mean not a capricious government by the decrees of a turbulent Ecclesia, but the rule of middle-class professional politicians, and the State ceased to be the powerful divinity which had so impressed Aeschylus and Sophocles. Religion, too, changed its character and turned into either grovelling superstition and magic or polite resigned scepticism. Macedonian supremacy and the helter-skelter of far-flung military adventure in which it ended, while it completed the collapse of the small City State, threw the individual into a position of utter isolation in an immensely enlarged world where personal character and

a mysterious ruling principle of luck or chance seemed to be the only forces at work.

During Menander's lifetime the little Athenian State, its prestige and resources in the political sphere hopelessly diminished, had to undergo a series of shattering vicissitudes. Just as he grew to manhood, Athens made her last stand for freedom in the Lamian War, after Alexander's death, in 321. She failed, and for many years became a mere appanage of whatever adventurous marshal could establish a precarious supremacy in Greece. For a decade Menander's friend Demetrius of Phaleron ruled her under the shadow of a Macedonian garrison. His régime was paternal, but narrow, noted for its stringent ordinances against luxury and its supervision over the conduct of women. In 307 a turn of the wheel expelled Demetrius, but his place was taken by a more formidable namesake, son of Alexander's marshal Antigonus the One-eyed. This new Demetrius was renowned as the sacker of cities. He set himself up as a god in the holy place of Athens, side by side with the Maiden who had once guided her imperial destiny. The city became a pawn in his struggle to unite Alexander's realm under his father's rule. When that failed, there was chaos for a while, and then a smaller adventurer, Lachares, mastered Athens. He held it for six years against all comers, and succumbed at last only after a terrible siege, in which the citizens were reduced to eating mice. Menander's public had thus little quiet, but the turbulence that surrounded them was not made, as in the days of Aristophanes, by their own exuberance. Their city was filled with all sorts of foreigners, swaggering captains, hungry mercenaries, and a horde of slaves from all over the world—victims, like the refugees from modern wars, of the universal misery of the times.

The Athenian citizen, with his long-established culture and refinement and his taste for moderation, which always came out in the nature of the educated Greek, reacted

against this turmoil by falling back upon himself. The New Comedy has little or nothing to tell us of the crazy political and military adventures which filled the world as known to its audiences. Menander's plays are crowded indeed with captains and generals, and with educated slaves such as only the wars could have made so plentiful; but their subjects are not war nor politics. They are concerned with the minor adventures and passions of daily life, set in a strange artificial, canonical framework. We hear little in them of great sufferings or universal calamities. The cultured Athenian citizen goes his worldly way and displays his foibles within the narrow limits of a tiny world. His only concerns with wars are when a blustering soldier becomes his rival for a lady's hand, or when his hot-headed young scapegrace of a son departs for Asia because he is in a huff about a love-affair that has gone awry. The playwright's interests are in character and the chances with which it has to contend. The study of human types had become a ruling passion with the cultured Athenian. Even philosophers turned to it from their search after the Absolute; Theophrastus, Aristotle's successor, is known to more readers as author of the *Characters*, source-book and model of Ben Jonson, Addison, and La Bruyère, than as the laborious compiler of the standard Greek work on Botany. The art of portraiture, which had died in Egypt a thousand years before, was reborn in Athenian sculpture during Menander's time and a little earlier, and gave the world the living image of Demosthenes, the majestic likeness of Alexander, and the great series of kings' heads on Hellenistic coins. A rule for the winning of Character's duel with Chance was expounded by Menander's fellow-student and friend, Epicurus, in whose teaching many resemblances to Menander's own outlook have been found. It was the doctrine of *Ataraxia*, quietism, patience and temperance, and the science of making the best of a sorry world through friendship.

The comedies in which this narrow and apparently stagnant, yet surprisingly lively little community, found its recreation were enclosed in a framework which seems to have been perfected by Menander himself. The little we know of his predecessors, or of his rivals Philemon and Diphilus, is enough to assure us that, although great entertainers, they were not originators. It is true that he only brought to perfection a tendency that had long operated, and indeed was inherent in the nature of Attic Comedy from the earliest times. The original "Revel-Song," in which the joyful return of the Wine-God with the Spring was for long celebrated, was an improvisation, largely lyrical in character, and devoted to the vigorous buffoonery which was always part of Dionysiac worship. Its later form, such as it possessed, was acquired in part perhaps from the Syracusan drama of Epicharmus with its parody of heroic legends and its dialogue between stock characters, among whom the Bragging Soldier and the Parasite were already prominent. More, however, was almost certainly contributed by early Attic Tragedy, which reached perfection of form while Comedy was still in its infancy. The Old Comedy of Aristophanes combined a slight amount of dramatic form and plot with a rich medley of lyric and of grotesque and obscene dances, to which masks and costumes lent elaboration. The analysis or development of character, as distinguished from the rough presentation of stock types, was utterly foreign to it. Its licence of abuse, which it displayed chiefly against prominent politicians, poets, philosophers and other notorious characters, caused it to be looked on with alarm even by those who most enjoyed it, and finally led to its decline. Its immorality and indecency too, while perhaps indicating a more robust state of society than those of later comedy, were felt, as life grew more refined, to be too coarse. The Middle Comedy, which flourished between Aristophanes and Menander, abandoned the lyrics, the dances, and the no longer licensed abuse of public characters,

and turned to a kind of burlesque, in which society was satirised in more general terms, and in which the ingredients originally derived from tragedy, such as dialogue and articulated plot, became more and more important.

Tragedy itself had meanwhile altered too, principally in the hands of Euripides. Though, like his great predecessors, he drew his plots exclusively from the sphere of heroic legend, his characters were no longer superhuman heroes in the grip of vast destinies, but men and women at the mercy of their own passions. The presentation of character at war with itself was more important to him than the working out of an ordered series of events to a tragic conclusion. So his plots tended to form the background rather than the stuff of his plays; and to make them intelligible, he developed extensively the devices of the Prologue, in which the story was explained before the play began, and the Deus ex Machina, an often artificially introduced divinity who tucked away the characters tidily when it was ended by announcing their subsequent fates. The Prologue became a regular part of the New Comedy, and was handled with especial skill by Menander. For the Deus ex Machina he utilised the more subtle concept of Chance; his plot was often founded on a sort of philosophy of coincidence. One of the characters in *The Arbitration* expounds this philosophy in a very interesting way, which cannot fail to remind us of Epicurus. The gods, he argues, have not time to bother with the individual affairs of the myriad inhabitants of each of the world's thousand cities. Like the distant Macedonian rulers of Athens, they have appointed a Captain of the Garrison over each man's soul. This is his Character, by the misuse of which man may destroy himself unless Fluke or Coincidence intervene to save him. It is a humorous philosophy, the comic equivalent of the arbitrary Euripidean scheme of things. As in Euripides, so in Menander, passion and error between them are usually responsible for the complication which it is the business of Coincidence to unravel. The

comic counterpart of the tragic Hamartia or Error is Agnoia, Ignorance, who actually appears as a goddess to speak the prologue of *The Shorn Mistress*.

Another tragic device, the Recognition, became a constant feature of comedy, introduced certainly by Menander himself. It is the means employed by Coincidence to untie the knot of the story. Along with it there came from tragedy a whole type of plot, developed at its fullest by Euripides and recurring again and again in Menander. Originally a motif in folklore, it was inherited by tragedy from heroic legend, but Euripides found it an especially convenient peg on which to hang his passions. It might be called the motif of the Lost Child Recovered. A baby is abandoned or stolen in its infancy, has a series of adventures, and is finally recognised by its parents when grown up. This folk-motif furnished a plot to Aeschylus for his *Choephoroi*, to Sophocles for his *Electra* and *Oedipus Rex*, and to Euripides for the *Electra*, the *Ion*, and the lost *Auge* and *Alope*. In the *Ion*, which is really almost as much comedy as tragedy, with its Repentant Young Man, its Wronged Mother, its Bluff Captain, and its Intriguing Slave, we can best see the model that Menander followed. His comedies and those of his Roman imitators are full of lost babies, sorrowing mothers, captains in love, and plotting slaves, who are juggled about with surprisingly fresh reiteration. The complication in which these stock characters are involved is usually a love-story, again a theme developed by Euripides before him in the tragic manner. To sentimentalise over these ever-recurring playthings of ignorance and coincidence, moving in the orbit of an unchanging tale, or to see in their predetermined vicissitudes any close reflexion of contemporary Athenian life, is as misleading as if we were to take the stock masks they wore for portraits of Athenian citizens. The famous line in which Plautus beautifully describes, after a Greek original, the art of the poet:

"Quaerit quod nusquam'st gentium, repperit tamen," might as well be applied to his plots as to his poetry. Neither in Greece nor Rome were ever so many babies abandoned or young women first betrayed and then reconciled to their sorrowful betrayers as were represented year-in, year-out upon the comic stage.

"Fabula iucundi nulla est sine amore Menandri," says Ovid; and love was indeed the passion in which Menander's headstrong young men were nearly always being consumed. But its course was not set by the laws of nature, and the Error by which it was disturbed was as artificial as the Coincidence by which it was finally smoothed. What gave Menander his place at the head of an illustrious line was not plot, but character and style. Even from the few mutilated plays we now possess we can see how immensely subtle was his capacity for creating real characters out of the traditional types which were his stock-in-trade. Hardly any two of his passionate young men or tight-fisted old ones, his sorrowing mothers, ill-treated girls, or prying and scheming slaves, are ever alike. The scene which gives its name to *The Arbitration* illustrates this in the skilful dialogue which shows us the difference between an Athenian rustic and a Semitic charcoal-burner. In the *Hero* and the *Husbandman* we have two mothers in similar situations showing utterly different characters. Polemon in the *Shorn Mistress* and Thrasonides in the *Hated Lover* are examples of the oft-recurring Captain in love. They differ completely from each other and from the braggart in Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*, and show us the usually unlovable comic soldier in a new sympathetic light. Menander's skill in the infinite variation of these types lends a perpetual interest to his plays. Side by side with this quality goes his remarkable subtlety of language, which varies unendingly with his characters, and was totally lost in the adaptations of Terence, for all their elegance. His Greek is the cultivated Attic of the period when it was becoming the language of all educated men.

It differs from the classical idiom of the Orators in usage, but not in clarity and refinement. His metre, again, is of a polished smoothness which none of his imitators ever equalled. In these qualities of style and diction it is now evident that even Molière himself cannot challenge the supremacy of Menander.

It is an interesting, if vain, exercise to speculate on the possible effect upon modern comic poetry if the Renaissance had recovered Menander as well as the Romans, who adapted him to the taste of a half-barbarous public. Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* is closely modelled on the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, and even Pinch the conjuror is an Elizabethan version of a Greek comic physician. In the larger art of Molière we are reminded again and again of Menander, to whom the great Frenchman was more akin than either of his Roman originals. His *Avare* goes back through Plautus to a lost Menandrean prototype, and even " les beaux yeux de ma cassette " is an echo at third hand of a Greek joke. The rascally valets, boastful Gascons, fake physicians, vagabond young men, of plays like *Les Fourberies de Scapin* all descend from types made canonical by Menander; and even situations like the first entry of the hypocritical Tartuffe, ordering his invisible servant to lock up his hair-shirt and his discipline, are derived ultimately from Athenian stage tricks. It would be worth while to investigate the oblique influence on the modern stage of such devices as the Greek mask and comic costume, still felt though long since disappeared. Readers of Ben Jonson, Goldsmith, and Sheridan, to mention only the more familiar masters of the modern comedy of humours and manners, may learn by the study of Menander's fragments how powerful a spell was exercised upon the world by the last Athenian literature, written though it was in the days of her decline.

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MARTIN LUTHER AND JOHN KNOX

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Luther and the Reformation. By James Mackinnon, PH.D., D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh. Volumes III–IV. (Longmans. 1929-1930. 16s. each).

John Knox. Portrait of a Calvinist. By Edwin Muir. (Cape. 1929. 12s. 6d.)

THE two books placed at the head of this article present a striking contrast and raise an interesting question. The authors are both Scotchmen and non-Catholics, and they deal with two of the leading figures in the great religious upheaval of the sixteenth century. But their attitude to the men portrayed and to the movements represented by these men is very different. Dr. Mackinnon presents us with the traditional Protestant view of Martin Luther. For him the great German tribune is not merely an outstanding historical personage whose genius and energy gathered together and directed into one channel numerous currents of emotion and aspiration, so that he can be justly styled the creator of the movement associated with his name; but he is also a religious hero, a true reformer, acting under the influence of the Holy Ghost and accomplishing a great act of enfranchisement for the human mind. His character was noble though not flawless, his zeal genuine though not always prudent, his influence in the religious order beneficent and fruitful. He was an instrument in the hands of God for correcting widespread and deep-seated abuses, a prophet whose failings and shortcomings do not rob him of his claim to rank with the prophets of the Old Law and with the saints

of the New. From this standpoint is the story told by Dr. Mackinnon, who still holds the Protestant view that modern research has not altered the main lines of the Luther legend, though it has relegated some idealizing anecdotes to the realm of romance and has revealed some unpleasant facts which call for apologetic explanation. The facts are given, the evidence cited; but all this is so manipulated that the resultant impression is of the old "honest Martin Luther," whose stout club of holm-oak battered down the doors of a dark prison in which the human spirit had languished for centuries. The note of admiration is never wanting; damaging facts or documents, though not suppressed or ignored, are yet touched on with a light and deft hand.

Mr. Muir's study of John Knox is, on the contrary, revolutionary and iconoclastic. The note of admiration *is* wanting, because research yields no grounds for it. If Dr. Mackinnon accepts the traditional Protestant view of Luther, Mr. Muir—like Andrew Lang in his *John Knox and the Reformation* (1905)—rejects the traditional Presbyterian view of Knox. If he were a Catholic, he might be accused of theological bias. But Mr. Muir has no theological bias; his conclusions are based chiefly on Knox's own writings and are enforced with cold and penetrating logic. Knox as painted by him is a repellent character; he is revealed as such in all his career. His own letters show him to have been, not indeed a conscious hypocrite, but an amalgam of nearly every attribute which a follower of Christ should not possess. If he had Luther's monetary disinterestedness, it was almost the only redeeming trait in his character. His courage was questionable. He fled to the Continent when the situation became menacing, and from his safe retreat in Calais or Geneva vehemently denounced the backslidings of those in England and Scotland, who, if they did not court martyrdom, at least held their gound. He was cruel and remorseless in his hour of triumph, identifying his hatreds with the

anger of God. Luther fought only with men—with the Pope, the Emperor, and the Catholic Princes of Germany. But the chief victims of Knox's cruelty, which Mr. Muir does not hesitate to style sadistic, were three women—Mary Tudor, Mary of Guise and Mary Queen of Scots. Even in the delirium of death his vehement calls for the execution of the poor prisoner in Fotheringay Castle alternated with snatches of the Psalms. When his fanaticism was stirred, he was impervious to pity. For him liberty of conscience meant the right of every man to worship as John Knox, the voice of God, ordained. His theology was the predestinationism of Calvin and Luther in its crudest form, and his political ideal for Scotland was a State dominated by the Kirk with himself as Pope of the Kirk. Mr. Muir finds love of power to be his ruling passion. Domineering and aggressive he could be to the fullest extent that circumstances permitted ; but when the political factors were dubious or unfavourable, he had no difficulty in assuming a less truculent attitude. When Mary Tudor was on the throne he published his famous *Blasts of the Trumpet against the Montrous Regiment of Women*, proving from Scripture and reason that it was unlawful for women to reign. When Elizabeth succeeded Edward, he was equally ready in receding from this position. At any point of time Knox believed true what he wished to be true—that is Mr. Muir's explanation of his psychology and ethics.

There is little to respect and nothing to love in the character of the founder of the Scottish Kirk and the father of that Puritanism which gave us the massacres of Drogheda and Wexford—not to speak of later manifestations. He is more gloomy and more intolerant than Calvin, more full of a relentless hatred that stands in glaring contrast to the Pure Gospel which he constantly invokes as warrant for all his actions. Even intellectually he is not great. His long harangues sound as boring to us as they did to Darnley. He was a power in the land because

of his ascendancy over the uneducated mob. The great lords, while seeming to defer to him, are really playing their own game all time. They are inspired, not by zeal for the Pure Gospel, but by hope of monastic plunder. It would be difficult to find in Christian history a more unchristian spectacle than Scotland presented in the days of Knox. Though he was not quite as worldly or unprincipled as his lay associates, though his hatred and fanaticism kept him constant where they shifted, temporised and betrayed, still he was the fitting leader of the lowest religious ferment of the sixteenth century. Mr. Muir, in his final summing up, writes :—

> He had no sense of justice ; what he praised in his friends, he condemned in his enemies. He was not sagacious ; his wild epistles to England and his treatment of the young Scottish Queen intensified the calamities which they were intended to avert. He was disingenuous, as all his writings prove. He was vindictive in his unrelenting pursuit of Mary Stuart ; he was ruthless towards the Catholics, repeatedly clamouring for their extermination. Normally he was altogether without self-control ; he would, however, assume it on emergency. He was incapable of living in peace ; he quarrelled in succession with almost all his friends—with Cranmer, the English at Frankfort, Calvin, Moray, Kirkcaldy, Lethington ; he fought in his maturity with queens, and in his dotage with the nonentities of St. Andrews.

Whatever be the failings of Luther, he is a nobler, more attractive figure than Knox. Let us return to him. Dr. Mackinnon presents him as a master theologian, an acute and subtle thinker, an able disputant—in brief, a creative intelligence who has exercised a deep and on the whole a beneficent influence on thought, one who has made original contributions to the science of theology. As this is for Catholics the strangest claim that could possibly be made, I must dwell upon it at some length.

Dr. Mackinnon's attitude is most clearly revealed in his account of the duel between Erasmus and Luther on the question of Free Will. Nothing could be fuller or fairer than this account. We are given, with an admirable

objectivity, the standpoints and contentions of both disputants. It is admitted that Erasmus was attacking "a central position of Luther's theology." We must bear this in mind. Luther's religious system is based on a radical denial of freedom. This is the central tenet, which enables us to appraise the system and the theological science informing it.

Erasmus had in the beginning felt much sympathy with Luther, had even intervened on his behalf in Rome. He was indeed accused of having laid the egg which Luther hatched. He shared the ex-monk's hatred of monasticism and his indignation at the rank abuses in the Church. He applauded the protest against the traffic in Indulgences. But gradually his essentially cautious mind took alarm at the wild denials of the fiery innovator. Above all he sensed the moral and social dangers inherent in them. After long hesitation he entered the arena with his *De Libero Arbitrio* (August, 1524), of which he wrote to Henry VIII.: "The die is cast. My book on Free Will has seen the light—an audacious villainy, as things now stand. I expect to be stoned." He was not stoned; but he was liberally pelted with sarcasm in Luther's reply, *De Servo Arbitrio*.

To the Catholic theologian, who sees the solution of the problem in the well-known distinction between ethically good acts and supernaturally good or meritorious acts, both writers appear to flounder considerably. Erasmus was handicapped by his contempt for the traditional doctrines of the Schools and by his consequent lack of fuller understanding. But at least he stands for the elementary truth of human liberty, without which morality, religion, and ultimately any tolerable conception of God vanish in a fatalism as withering as that of Mahomet. And he proves his point from Luther's own criterion, the Scriptures, with a cogency that would seem entirely adequate. In very truth the chief message of Holy Writ may be summarised in the words: "Turn ye

again to me, and I will be turned to you." It supposes liberty in every page, not excluding St. Paul's Epistles—which, already in Apostolic times, " the ignorant and the unsteadfast wrested to their own destruction " (II. Peter iii, 16). It hardly required the scriptural erudition of an Erasmus to make so obvious a truth clear. But Luther was neither convinced nor daunted. Quite typically he increased the vehemence of his assertions ; for he always had the courage of his convictions, however irrational they might be. Their very irrationality, as increasing the triumph of faith, seemed a merit in his eyes. Always begging the question by assuming that his own interpretation of Scripture was the true and only meaning of the divine revelation, he stormed and raved against any criticism of it as a godless repudiation of divine authority. This pitiful *ignoratio elenchi* runs through all his works. Dr. Mackinnon's summary of the *De Servo Arbitrio* will give the reader a good idea of Luther's strange doctrine of Free Will :—

> Free will, in the religious sense, man does not possess. Being absolutely dependent on God for salvation, as far as God does not operate in him his works are necessarily evil and he can do nothing for his salvation. His will is not in itself free. It is dominated either by God or Satan. It is like a beast of burden. If God is seated in the saddle, it wills and goes whither God wills. If the devil is in the saddle, it wills and goes whither the devil wills. Both are striving for possession of it, and it is powerless to choose between them. Free will is the prerogative of God alone. It is a misnomer when applied to man . . . . There can be no attempt to do the good where there is no power to will the good, and man is the slave of sin. No middle course is here possible, as Erasmus would have us believe. If God is present in us, the devil is absent and one cannot but will the good. If God is absent, the devil is present and one cannot but do the evil. Free will is nothing but an empty name (inane vocabulum) . . . . (Vol. iii., p. 258).

" Who," asks Erasmus, " will strive to amend his life, if every one can only act in virtue of necessity ? " " No one," answers

Luther, " for no one can. Only the elect will amend themselves by God's spirit. The rest will perish unamended." " Who," asks Erasmus further, " will believe that God loves him, if he is condemned merely in virtue of a divine decree ? " " No one,' answers Luther, " will or can believe except the elect, but will perish in their raging and blaspheming against God, as you do in your book." " But," urges Erasmus, " does not such a doctrine open a door to impiety ? " " So be it," answers Luther, " this is part of the evil that is to be borne " (p. 257).

I have allowed Dr. Mackinnon to speak, because it is often said that Catholics distort Protestant doctrine in order to refute it. But Bellarmine never attributed to Luther more radical determinism and predestinationism than we find here, and Father Grisar's account is substantially the same—only more fully developed and documented. The latter biographer has shown how in an earlier work, *Assertio Omnium Articulorum* (1521), Luther had taken up precisely the same position, to which he adhered unwaveringly in all his later works. His teaching, Father Grisar rightly adds, is identical with Calvin's; the oft repeated distinction between Lutheranism and Calvinism is due to Melanchton and others. In the first edition of the *Loci Communes* Melanchton had accepted the master's views; but in later editions he abandoned or modified them. Indeed the *De Servo Arbitrio* startled many of Luther's followers and caused them to walk with him no more. Melanchton described it as *Manichaea deliria*, while Ritschl later called it " an unhappy piece of patchwork." Other verdicts will be found in Father Grisar's standard Life of Luther. He himself writes: " Contradictions form an integral part of Luther's psychology. Long pages of his work are full of them, though Luther seems quite unaware of his inconsistencies, obscurities and confusion. Conflicting lines of thought may be traced . . . . They indicate a mentality singularly deficient in exactitude and clearness. The workshop where his ideas were fashioned was assuredly not an orderly one " (Vol. ii., p. 281).

Let us now hear Dr. Mackinnon's verdict on the *De Servo Arbitrio* :—

In the *De Servo Arbitrio* Luther appears at his best as a controversialist. It is moderate and measured in style and free from the reckless abuse of too much of his controversial writing . . . . It is a sustained piece of reasoning of a high order. In fertility of thought and dialectic power he is greatly superior to his opponent. Erasmus is a scholar and a critic rather than a thinker. Luther is a thinker rather than a scholar and a critic. Erasmus has the inquiring, Luther the dogmatic, temperament. To the one doubt is a condition of truth, to the other it is anathema. A teacher, says Luther, must assert definitely what he believes and not reason in a vacillating fashion . . . . He is far more in earnest as well as far more penetrating in thought and logic than his opponent, and he is by far the more powerful reasoner.

This verdict agrees with Luther's own estimate, who stated that the only works of his which he would wish to be preserved were the *De Servo Arbitrio* and the *Catechismus*. It is true that Dr. Mackinnon proceeds to criticise the work thus praised. He says that Luther's attempt to substantiate his determinism is far from convincing, while " to represent man as the passive agent of the divine decree is, to say the least, rather compromising for the divine righteousness." What the Catholic reader finds strange in this really able biography is the facility with which the author makes admissions that seem to stand in flat contradiction to his thesis. He always gives the facts—even the damaging facts ; but these are adroitly glozed over. The result is a brilliant *plaidoyer*, but hardly an objective picture. No one can deny the titanic personality of the Thuringian peasant ; he might, like Poseidon, be called " the earth-shaker " ; but he had far more of the human than the godlike in his composition. He lacked the poise, the serenity, the self-mastery, the universal charity which characterise the saints.

To me Martin Luther appears one of the best instances in history of the affinity of genius to insanity. A genius in some respects he undoubtedly was—fiery, intense, fanatical,

prodigiously industrious, a master of rugged, if somewhat coarse and demogogic, eloquence. Sincere we can admit him to have been, though even here it is difficult for us to see how any man of high intelligence could sincerely hold to such inconsistent and incompatible positions, could act at one time in a manner so utterly at variance with former or even simultaneous professions. It seems to me that sincerity can be granted to him only at the expense of sanity—by which I mean that his teaching and whole mentality appear to me at odds with the normal functioning of the human brain.

Luther's quarrel with Rome begins with his transference of allegiance from the reforming party in his own Order to those who stood for the continuance of abuse. It was in the party spirit generated by this not too edifying contest that he conceived his hatred of "good works." His distortion of St. Paul's teaching is very palpable and very unpardonable. His disrespect for sixteen centuries of tradition is little in harmony with his professions of humility. His contempt for Aristotle in philosophy and for St. Thomas in theology can hardly fail to try one's patience. His disdain of Origen and St. Jerome as scriptural commentators is almost equally amazing. His efforts to subject his followers to his own dogmas is so utterly opposed to his principle of private judgment that even Dr. Mackinnon cannot explain it away. His denunciation of papal tyranny and persecution does not prevent him from proscribing and persecuting the Sacramentarians, the Spiritualists, the Anabaptists—any and all who differ from his own arbitary views. His professions of indignation at the scandals of the ancient Church do not compel him to any delicate choice of associates and friends. The German princes and leaders whom he enlisted in the fight against Rome—Philip of Hesse, von Hutten, von Sickingen, Ulrich of Würtemberg—are they one whit better in their lives than the worst elements on the opposing side? Is not the approbation of Philip's bigamy enough

to destroy once for all Luther's claim to apostolic sanctity? His attitude towards the state authorities varies according as they support him or oppose him. His sympathetic historian admits all this and much more; but it does not lead him to question Luther's intellectual and religious greatness. The concluding words of the third volume state his final verdict:—

> He was one of those rare master-spirits who create an epoch in religious history. In himself and his work he stands forth as the embodiment of the power of ideas operating through a great personality which creates and inspires a new order of things, compels the old order to bend and be renewed in the mould of its formative genius and its commanding will . . . . The religious inspiration which launched this complex dynamic movement on the world came from the monk of Wittenberg—the man of faith, the faith that can move mountains—of surpassing strength of will and character and religious conviction that knew how to impose themselves on his own age and rough-hew the ages beyond them . . . .
>
> Luther and his achievement are great enough to stand criticism, and enlightened criticism can only be serviceable to the movement to which he gave the compelling impulse. The partisan, ill-informed, prepossessed criticism, of which there is such a "spate" in current as well as in past ecclesiastical literature, has no right to a hearing. Whatever one's ecclesiastical prepossessions, whether the critic is competent or incompetent, fair or unfair, liberal or small-minded, he is a poor specimen of a man and a Christian who, in the presence of this marvellous Christian and his achievement, cannot join in the voice from heaven: "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth; yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, for their works follow them."

We can all join in the voice from heaven. We do; but fewer than Dr. Mackinnon thinks will accept this canonization of his hero. Luther's work was the disruption of Christianity, and the disruption has gone on (outside the fold that rejected his teaching), until to-day the chaos is complete. Men are either abandoning every dogma of Christianity, or are seeking some formula of reunion that will undo the tragic work of Wittenberg. Dr. Mackinnon hints at "prepossessed criticism." Might

we remind him that prepossessions *for* can blind just as much as prepossessions *against*. His own really painstaking and splendidly written volumes give ample data for quite another verdict when Luther is viewed from other standpoints. It required a sustained application of very forced apologetics to maintain the thesis of this Life. Martin Luther was neither saint nor reformer, but a revolutionary of genius. Whatever improvement followed his rebellion, came by way of reaction from his creed and system. His analogue is not an Isaiah or a Daniel; still less an Athanasius, a Benedict, a Bernard, a Francis of Assisi or an Ignatius of Loyola. From all these he differs fundamentally in character, temperament, word and work. His analogue is Nicolai Lenin.

In our day Europe has had the unhappy experience of living through an upheaval similar in many ways to that started by Luther four centuries ago. A whole world system had grown old; abuses had multiplied; discontent had spread and restlessness was long apparent in vast masses. At the psychological moment an enthusiast, with a new gospel, appeared—with millenniar hopes and aspirations, with intense conviction conveyed in words that stirred the popular imagination, with prodigious nervous energy and ruthlessness of purpose. The new reformer did not prepare the ground, save in so far as he could give some direction from beyond the frontiers of Russia. He did not even determine the first outburst. But once the movement got started, he took command of it, gave it that ideology which all movements need, and directed its course with a firm control such as the Saxon friar had never exercised. He was always able to dominate the situation—"to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm." This is the supreme test of a leader, and herein Luther failed conspicuously. He could raise a successful mutiny. But this done, he could enforce no discipline. Sheer anarchy ensued. His genius was destructive, not creative. Nothing that he

effected had stability. His followers soon degenerated into a mob of crazy disputants with only one clear bond of union—hatred of Rome. He gave groups and peoples those shibboleths and war-cries that they needed in their fight with the Pope and with the world-order which had the Pope as its central and unifying figure. He served to rouse that psychological mood of prejudice and hatred which was useful in the hour of actual conflict. But when the struggle died down and a war-weary Europe set about the work of reconstruction, Luther's intellectual influence was exhausted. His name still echoed over the battlefield; legend invested him with heroic proportions; but his theology, which did as much violence to reason as to Catholic tradition, soon crumbled before rationalistic criticism. His chief legacy to posterity was hatred of the Pope, and this legacy is still a unifying principle of Protestantism and the main obstacle to Christian reunion. Dr. Mackinnon asks us to admire Luther as "a great battler against the Papacy and its egregious claim to lord it over the souls of free men and women." This seems, for him and for many other historians, to be Luther's supreme service to mankind, his best claim to veneration. If hatred, like charity, can cover a multitude of sins, the veneration is intelligible.

P. J. Gannon.

REVIEWS

Apologetics

JESUS ET L'HISTOIRE. Conférences de Notre-Dame de Paris (1929).
JESUS MESSIE. Conférences de Notre Dame de Paris (1930).
RETRAITE PASCALE. Conférences de Notre Dame de Paris (1930). Par H. Pinard de la Boullaye, S.J. Paris : Editions Spes. 1929—1930.

PERE DE LA BOULLAYE'S two volumes on the *Histoire Comparée des Religions* placed him at once in the van of modern scholarship. Few abler or more erudite works have appeared in recent years. But they gave little indication that their author would also attain to the highest honours in the pulpit. Yet the Lent of 1929, and again of 1930, found him in Notre Dame, following in the footsteps of Lacordaire, de Ravignan, Monsabré and the rest. Nor was his success less than theirs. His conferences not only drew crowded congregations ; they were broadcasted as well, and thus reached a wider audience.

What gave them their value was just their solidity. They were not rhetorical or spectacular. He supposed hearers in search of facts and proofs, not eloquence : " Vous demandez des raisons, non des déclamations." (*Jésus et l'Histoire*, p.84). He gave them reasons. None could do so better ; for he was dealing with a subject peculiarly his own. Indeed the problem for him must have been one of selection, condensation and arrangement. Here his Gallic sense of order and logic came to his assistance. He marshals his arguments and authorities with the precision and care that a French Chief-of-staff might have shown in the war ; and he moves to his conclusions all the more convincingly because his advance is so unhurrying. How unhurrying may be gauged from the fact that the six lectures of 1929 deal exclusively with the historicity of the story of Christ's life, and those of 1930 with His Messianic claims. The concluding series in 1931 will treat of His Divinity. In addition to the Lenten conferences he gave also a series of discourses during Easter week on the Goodness of God, more devotional than controversial in tone.

Père de la Boullaye adheres, of course, to the traditional methods of Christian apologetics. He is too wise to think they can be either improved upon or replaced. But these little volumes will be a welcome addition to all that has been published heretofore. They are so up-to-date, so thorough, so clear, that, as a conspectus of a tangled question, they will be valuable even to those who know the literature, and invaluable to those who do

not. They fall within the comprehension of any intelligent and educated reader. Yet the specialist will detect on every page the erudition lying behind the generalization, and the logician will admire the skill of the presentation. Few sermons retain their full value in print. These are the exception, for the reason that they are one continuous chain of argument, closely knit, temperately stated, and persuasively driven home. P. J. Gannon

Archaeology

THE SUMERIANS. By C. Leonard Woolley. Oxford Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 1928. 6s.

UR OF THE CHALDEES. By C. Leonard Woolley. London: Benn. 1929. 7s. 6d.

THE FLOOD. By Harold Peake, M.A., F.S.A. London: Kegan Paul. 1930. 5s.

MR. WOOLLEY'S discoveries at Ur of the Chaldees need no introduction now to the general reader. Even more than the revelations made by the opening of Tut-ankh-amen's tomb, the results of his work as leader of the Oxford-Pennsylvania expedition have caught the imagination of the modern world. Here again there has been that quality of sudden, dramatic revelation which appeals so forcibly to old and young; and the civilisation which Mr. Woolley has revealed at Ur touches us far more closely than the highly-developed but conventional art of Egypt in the days of her splendour. For here at Ur we are dealing with a culture which is at least as old, possibly older than anything hitherto found in Egypt; and we are from first to last on ground that is charged with memories common to all Christian nations. Quite literally, Mr. Woolley has uncovered streets through which Abraham and his kin may well have walked; he has unearthed tablets that prove the substantial accuracy of early Babylonian king-lists, reaching back well into the fourth millennium; he has stumbled upon tombs that are crammed with the skeletons of human victims who went willingly to their death in company with their dead lord and master; and, most sensational of all his discoveries, he now claims to have unearthed the actual traces of that deluge which inundated Lower Mesopotamia we do not know how many centuries before the earliest of these tombs, and is, so many scholars would hold, that Flood which is recorded in the Bible, and which has left its memory in the poetry and folk-lore of so many races.

Of all this we have at present little more than the semi-popular accounts that have appeared in the daily and weekly press. Mr.

Woolley's annual reports in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, supplemented by the fine illustrations that have been published broadcast at the end of each session, are the nearest approach to a scientific account of what has hitherto been discovered. But the plain truth is that, in the excitement and rush of ever new discoveries, the work of scientific publication has inevitably lagged behind the work of the spade; and we shall probably have to wait some years yet before we get those full and detailed volumes on which accurate scientific conclusions can alone be based. In the meanwhile Mr. Woolley's two little popular volumes, the one telling the story of Sumerian civilisation straight through from the beginning, the other telling the story from the point of view of the excavator and bringing the narrative up to the recent discoveries of March, 1929, will suffice for the average reader who wants to know where we stand at the moment in this amazing progress of archæological research.

Mr. Woolley has all the gifts of a born narrator, and it would be hard to find a more attractive account of ancient Sumerian civilisation as a whole than is given in the earlier of his two volumes. Here he uses to the full, not only the result of his own work at Ur up to date of publication, but also the earlier and equally valuable work done by himself and Dr. Hall on the site of the temple at Al-Ubaid near Ur, and the parallel work done further north by another party of explorers at Kish. Mr. Woolley has his own personal point of view, of course, and scholars are by no means in agreement, for example, as to the theory which he proposes to explain the origins of the Sumerian race. But the value of both these volumes lies in the fact that the author has been content to tell the facts as he knows them, and to give as little as possible of uncertain reconstruction. In this respect his writing is like his field-work. Reconstruction is used, often with amazing skill; but for the most part the reconstruction follows so carefully the traces left by a perished original that the result inspires confidence. So too with Mr. Woolley's historical narrative. If you do not agree with his reconstruction of the facts, you have always the king-lists to fall back on, which he prints in full; and you can construct your own theory as to the origins of this astonishingly gifted race, provided you do no violence to the facts of archaeology and physical geography which are summarised so clearly in these pages.

To most readers the chief interest in all this literature lies in its relation to the problem of the Flood. Inevitably Mr. Woolley's sensational discovery of a deep mud-stratum, overlying the most

primitive remains of human life found in this area and yet not interrupting the normal cultural development, so that life would seem to have been resumed after a sudden catastrophe without any notable break in the sequence of civilisations, has stimulated a number of theories to account for the facts.

Those who have read the exceedingly able article on the subject published in the *Dublin Review* last January by Father Eric Burrows, S.J., one of Mr. Woolley's fellow-workers at Ur, will remember his ingenious reconstruction of Noah's life-story, based very largely on a comparative study of various Oriental versions of the Flood. In particular Father Burrows has called attention to a surviving fragment of what would seem to be a lost Hurrian (Hittite) version of the story, in which the hero of the Flood-epic bears a name very similar to the Hebrew Noah. Father Burrows would explain the Flood as a deluge which destroyed almost entirely the earlier pre-Sumerian (possibly Hurrian) civilisation of this area, and prepared the way for that Sumerian domination of the river-valley which has left its mark in the astonishing remains now unearthed by the excavator's spade.

Mr. Peake has his own way of looking at the problem. His book, which has just appeared, has the advantage that it is based not merely on the excavations at Ur, but also on very similar results obtained at Kish by Professors Langdon and Sollas almost at the same moment as the discoveries made by Woolley at Ur. There is also a brief but competent statement of the other sites explored in Mesopotamia, and chiefly of the work done by French excavators at Susa, and by Professor Ernest Herzfeld on various early sites in Persia. Their discoveries throw considerable light on that earliest stratum of human remains at Ur and Kish which can now confidently be claimed as antediluvian. But Mr. Peake's book is of more interest as a somewhat naive illustration of the excitement and enthusiasm that—not unnaturally—prevail among archaeologists at the moment. Instead of confining himself strictly to what has actually been discovered and to the interpretation of the many problems raised by apparently inconsistent evidence from Ur and Kish, Mr. Peake cannot resist the temptation of theorising on flood-literature at large, and is eager to rush into print with a reconstruction of the Babylonian king-lists which he himself admits to be rash, and which many other scholars will probably regard as uncritical and foolish. The first portion of this small volume is taken up with an account of biblical and other versions of the Flood which is written in an extremely popular form, and Mr. Peake here gives his readers the impression that he

is more anxious to catch the interest of the general public than to state accurately scientific facts. Then comes his account of recent excavations, and the temperament of an archaeologist who dearly loves a theory is at once apparent. Indeed the whole account leads up to his own pet theory, that the king-lists have been confused by a copyist at some date prior to 2,000 B.C. ; and that the dynasty now marked as the second dynasty of Ur should really be placed earlier in the list, and equated with those unknown kings whose ghastly funeral rites have been revealed to us by Mr. Woolley. This theory, which brings the reign of Mes-anni-padda, a king of the first dynasty whose name has been read on tablets discovered by the excavators at Ur, down to a date which it is difficult to reconcile with the known later developments affects Mr. Peake's calculations as to the probable date of the Flood. His own view is that the Flood took place somewhere about 4,200 B.C., but he has difficulty in reconciling this date with the evidence of the most recent excavations at Kish. Here traces have been found of two major floods, and neither seems to be easily identified with the great flood of Ur. The plain truth is that we are only at the beginning of these discoveries. For the moment it is better to abstain from theory and to await further field-work, properly interpreted in the light of official publications.

P. D.

Biography

L'ABBÉ TEMPETE. Armand de Rancé, Réformateur de la Trappe. Par Henri Bremond. Paris : Hachette. 1929. Pp. 249. 20 francs.

Armand-Jean Bouthillier de Rance was born in 1626. His first name he had from his godfather, Cardinal Richelieu ; as a child he was petted and fondled by Marie de Medicis. When he was only eleven years of age, he was already a Cistercian abbot, a Benedictine abbot, an abbot of the order of Grammont, an Augustinian abbot, a prior, a canon of Notre Dame. From these benefices his father, and later he himself, drew a huge revenue. He was dispensed on account of his youth from Divine Office—he had of course no orders, but only tonsure. He earned his benefices by assisting four times a year at High Mass.

His youth was worldly but not profligate. He had good masters and studied hard. He could read Greek easily and spoke Latin with distinction ; he disputed in the Sorbonne with success, he was a passionate follower of the chase, an assiduous squire of dames, a welcome guest at aristocratic parties. He spent great

amounts of money and energy in his eager pursuit of excitement, but he did not let his powers rust, and if we consider him only a young man of the world, we must put him far above the average of wealthy idlers. His connection with the Church was little more than a financial one, though its existence was a gross social scandal. Yet this fast young man used to preach, and people went to hear him, and compared him, not altogether unfavourably, with Bourdaloue.

When he decided to be ordained, he resolved to amend his life, and made a retreat of twelve days under St. Vincent de Paul, with whom he was enchanted. But the world soon laid its hands on him again, and his relatives were much distressed : if a rich bishopric were to become vacant, the reputation he was acquiring by his more than worldly life would not help his chances. A strange young priest indeed : his ambiguous relations with the beautiful and widowed Duchess of Montbazon were the talk of Paris, yet he was shocked at the lax moral teaching of the Jesuits, and helped to launch the *Provinciales*. Indeed a jealous rival for the favour of Mme. de Montbazon described him as " a little Jansenist abbé, who talks to her about Grace in public, and about other matters in private." (It is a quaint commentary on this that, during the present year, some of those French Jesuits he condemned are to be canonised, having spent years of incredible hardship, followed by a dreadfully heroic martyrdom, in the effort to teach their lax opinions to the Iroquois of Canada). Stranger still, he got quite a reputation for preparing dying sinners to meet their Judge.

His beautiful duchess got scarlet fever, and he had to tell her that the end was near. She died, apparently penitent and pious, just when he had retired to get a few hours' rest after days and nights spent by her bedside. Her son told him the news : " C'en est fait, abbé, la farce est jouée," were the incredible words he used.

This was the beginning of a new life for him, though he took some years to find his path. He resigned his benefices except the abbey of La Trappe, he gave his two Paris palaces to be hospitals, he sold his estate of Veretz which he loved, and he went to La Trappe, not to live there as a monk, but to make some reparation for the temporal and spiritual evils his father and himself had done it by their absenteeism. These he found to be very grievous indeed. The buildings were in a ruinous condition, and religious discipline had vanished. The monks, reduced in number to six, lived in degradation and squalor. Rancé proposed to reform

them at once : that was his way. When one remembers the history of his connection with the place, it is hardly to be wondered at that they threatened to kill him. However, everything was satisfactorily arranged ; the six monks were pensioned off and allowed to go or remain as they chose (one of them became one of the most saintly members of the new community), and a little colony of reformed Cistercians was introduced. After a period of hesitation, during which he took an ever greater share in their exercises, the titular abbot decided to be a monk, made his novitiate at Perseigny, the abbey from which his swarm had come, and returned in the white Cistercian dress, an abbot in earnest, as all the world was to know before very long.

From this time the keynote of his life was what we can only call an unbridled love of austerity. In his monastery he introduced one rigour after another ; during one Lent his monks, M. Bremond tells us with perhaps a touch of exaggeration, " were dying like flies." And with the physical harshness went a still greater moral severity. He was always making the windows rattle with his terrific rebukes for the smallest faults or no faults at all. " Monastic congregations," he actually wrote, " are bands of criminals and public penitents, who having been wanting in the fidelity due to God and having angered Him by their disobedience, can no longer count on His Goodness until His Justice has been satisfied by chastisements worthy of their sins." It was the golden age of Jansenism !

And yet he was loved, adored even, by his " criminals." They welcomed every new penitential observance whole-heartedly ; indeed, in spite of his unflattering characterisation of them, they were for the most part men who had already advanced far on the road to sanctity before they came to him.

His relations with the outer world consisted chiefly in a series of violent encounters, first with the Pope, then with the Cistercians whose observance though reformed was not severe enough for him, then with the Jesuits, the Jansenists, the Benedictines, the Carthusians, and lastly, with Fénelon. The violence was entirely on one side. Not one of all these adversaries seems ever to have uttered an unkind word about him. The Jesuits, of whom " la morale de la plupart est si corrompue et les maximes si opposés à la sainteté de l'évangile . . .", said never a word in public, though they managed very discreetly to bring pressure on him to cease his attacks, without the world in general being any the wiser. The answer of the Benedictines, whom he made responsible for all the evils of the age, was a model of sweetness and respectful charity.

The Jansenists were his dear friends during many years of his monastic life; and when he did eventually pour the accumulated vials of his wrath over them, they could if they wished have invited him to explain the gushingly affectionate letters he had written them a very short time before. (It is right to state here that his doctrinal orthodoxy was never in doubt). But they refrained. As for Fénelon, who was attacked in language that would be more intelligible if it were applied to Mahomet or Luther, he replied in a tone of gentle humility that makes his letter more crushing than any invective could be.

The story of all these battles, which needless to say loses nothing of its piquancy in M. Bremond's telling of it, seems at first to condemn the fiery abbot beyond excuse. To be sure, there is no other excuse to be made for his conduct in these debates than that he never had a chance of learning discipline and obedience in the only way in which they can be learned. But the very silence and respect which met all his attacks showed the profound impression which his really splendid virtues made on all who knew him and his work.

And the best proof of the reality of his virtues is the permanence of his work. The physical severity of La Trappe remained and was even increased in some ways; the moral rigorism gave place to a more humane spirit, one more in keeping with the Gospel and with the primitive tradition of the Order, and the Cistercians are now as of old one of the glories of the Catholic Church.

M. F. E.

THE PUBLIC LIFE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST. By Archbishop Goodier S.J. Two Volumes. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1930. 21s. net.

THE enquirer for a *Life of Christ*, in a Catholic bookshop, is normally offered a translation from the French or German. It would seem that, with the exception of an occasional book for a special class, like Mother Loyola's *Jesus of Nazareth*, a readable Life by a Catholic writer did not exist in English. Scores of Protestant writers have followed Farrar; a fact which made a good Life by an English Catholic all the more imperative. However beautiful in style or sympathetic in their rendering of incidents in the life of Our Lord these Protestant writers may have been, they left a want in the mind; a want expressed by the complaint of the Master Himself: "Philip, dost thou not know that he who sees Me sees also the Father?" In increasing numbers, Protestant teachers are giving up belief in the divinity of Christ;

they seem persuaded that they can show their disciples all the riches of the cave of Bethlehem with the light of their own little lanterns, needing no Heaven-sent star. Whilst the classic Lives fully correct this fatal error, they are translations; and a translation can never quite give us a picture set off by the imagery and the light and shade to which we are accustomed. So the work of Archbishop Goodier is not only useful, it was sadly needed.

Dr. Goodier confines himself to the Public Life, but in the thirty-seven chapters devoted to it, he manages to keep us all the time very close to the Master Himself. This we consider the outstanding merit of Dr. Goodier's work. Many writers make an incident in the life of our Lord, or a word dropped from His lips, a peg on which to hang their own views about asceticism. Thus in the scene of the Temptation they do not make us listen to the beats of the Sacred Heart and Christ's own attitude towards a specific temptation. They lead us into discussions about the nature of temptation in general or the theological bearings of this temptation, so that they bring us away from the mountain top and the company of the Master to the dusty roads below, worn by the tread of the criss-crossing exegetical wranglers. Not so Dr. Goodier. By a happy blending of texts from Old and New Testament he reverently unfolds the Scriptures concerning Christ and makes our hearts glow in his company as glowed the hearts of the disciples on the way to Emmaus.

With a few exceptional cases, as we accompany the Archbishop who thinks aloud his impressions on the words and doings of Christ, we feel the divine light penetrating through the human gaze: "Thou seemest human but Thou art divine." We say 'with a few exceptions,' because there are some misleading passages, as for instance the suggestion in ch. IV, that Christ needed the warning of human friends to put Him on His guard against the plots of the Pharisees. The ordinary reader knows nothing about the perfection of the knowledge of Christ in His human intellect, due both to the beatific vision and the infused science; and these are points which, in view of the current Christological errors, seem to need stressing rather than concealment. There are a few other passages which might be happily re-written. Thus in ch. XXX we are told:—

> Still in Himself, before the eyes of men, He remained no more than the Carpenter of Nazareth, poor and pressed down with the helplessness of poverty, meek and bound by the bondage of meekness, suffering and bowed down by the weight of human sorrow

That "He remained no more than the Carpenter of Nazareth

before the eyes of men" is a statement which cannot be reconciled with the teaching and works of all the Public Life, nor with the writer's own reflection in an earlier chapter on the *Cleansing of the Temple*:—

> In spite of their (the Pharisees) high authority, when His gaze met theirs, the firmness of His eye subdued them. As it had been with others, so it was now with them; no words were needed, they knew at once that they were in the presence of One greater than themselves.

Few who have loved to dwell on the conversation with Nicodemus, will be prepared to admit that his question about a new birth "bordered on the insolent" or that it could be styled a "half-sneering question." These we consider to be some of the flaws in an otherwise perfect picture. We should like to see them amended in future editions, of which we hope there will be many. In the meantime we readily forget them, feeling that the beautiful words which close the chapter entitled *A Résumé*, may be applied to the volumes which suggest that résumé:—

> With this cry the portrait is virtually completed. It is strong as a tower, yet delicate as a feather, yielding as a blade of grass to every breath of wind, yet firm as a rock before the heaviest wash of water. For the rest the Evangelists, of these mainly St. Luke, are content merely to deepen the lines of light and shadow, in all consistent with the last impression. G. B.

MENSCHEN UND HEILIGE. Katholische Gestalten. Herausgegeben Von Heinrich Mohr. Herder. 1930. 10 m.

IN four numbers of the leading German monthly review *Die Literatur* for the year 1928 there appeared a series of articles by Martin Rockenback on "Catholic Literature." To one who knows anything of the old attitude of German critical organs towards everything Catholic such a series in such a periodical speaks for itself. Catholics have at last come forth from exile; their books are no longer impossible to market. A Catholic poet can, at a non-denominational public conference, proclaim his devotion to the Church without exciting a smile or a sneer. Among the younger school of German writers there are in contemporary drama names such as Max Mell, Leo Weismantel, Billinger; in lyric or epic or both, Richard von Schaukal, Paul Keller, Peter Dörfler, Knies, Mumbauer, Ruth Schaumann—all professing and practising Catholics. To have a superiority complex against Catholics or things Catholic, now that the younger generation has revolted in favour of vision, is to be dated, to be "pre-war."

We imagine, then, that the young Germans, not only those

within, but the majority without the Church, will read and enjoy this book. "Men and women—Saints—Catholic Figures." It is a record of personalities (in which the Catholic Church has always been so rich); not the work of a single hand, but a collaboration of talents, including the Austrian von Schaukal, whose reputation in poetry and prose is securely established; Peter Dörfler, whose peasant tales are welcome in every German house; Ruth Schaumann, poet and sculptress, the talented wife of the editor of *Hochland*. The book is happy in its plan. The editor, Heinrich Mohr, apparently selected his group of 24 contributors, allowing each to choose his or her favourite character and deal with it according to his or her peculiar talent—the unity being supplied by the community of ideas and of outlook that is implied in Catholic belief and practice.

The selection of subjects is a catholic one in every sense of the word—going back to St. John the Baptist, forward to the Curé d'Ars, and including among others, St Paul, St. Martin of Tours, St. Catherine of Siena, St. Peter Canisius, St. Francis de Sales, St. Teresa, St. Philip Neri. Even a chance reader of the list might be struck by the fact that each of the "figures" chosen has a message for our own day. The Baptist, "a voice crying in the wilderness"; St. Paul, whom Bishop Waitz, in the book, describes as the type and pattern of Catholic action as recommended by our Holy Father; St. Catherine of Siena, the woman apostle and lay mystic; St. Francis de Sales, winning over society to the devout life; the Curé d'Ars, the simple peasant pastor accomplishing miracles in an atheist age. The reality, modernity, and humanity in these figures, so finely evoked from the European past, is not the least of the attractions of this book, each of the 400 pages of which throbs with life. It is well produced, in large type and illustrated with interesting woodcuts by Hans Unkel.

MARY M. MACKEN.

UN GRAND EDUCATEUR. Le Bienheureux Don Bosco (1815—1888). Par A. Auffray. Lyons and Paris: Emmanuel Vitte. 1930. Pp. 583. 20 fr.

PUBLISHED early in this year, the elaborate and most interesting Life of the founder of the Salesian Congregation is already designated as having had a sale of 17,000 copies. No one who works over its text, will fail to realise that here there is perhaps a fuller and more personal presentation of the whole life of Giovanni Bosco than has yet been achieved. *Lives* have been exceptionally numerous, as a rapid consultation of the elaborate bibliography

will show ; and they have taken many forms. But none of them has vouchsafed to readers the fullness of detail, always interesting, often dramatic and of heroic mould, that is to be found, for example, in chapters X (Le Voyant), XI (Le Thaumaturge) and XII (Le Serviteur des Papes). Even more remarkable is the entire content of chapter XIII, wherein Don Bosco is portrayed as intervening decisively to secure the peaceful filling of several scores of bishoprics vacant in Italy, 1863–1874, and in other varied relations with Cavour and his cabinet, with the ex-King of Naples, and with many more among " Les Grands." There are also indeed ample stores of material in this new *Life* for the student of the psychology of Saints, whether on the side of external activities or on that of the inner life of thought, prayer, intellectual habits, character. In particular, attention may be directed to the part played by dreams in the activities of Don Bosco, as instanced, besides other passages, in chapters XVI and XVII. There is a good deal about the details of ecclesiastical administration as related to the progress and extension of the Salesian Institute ; and some part thereof seems to savour of exaggeration. The use of the term " persecution " in the preface (p. viii.), taken in connection with the content of the chapter on the subject (XVII), appears to be quite uncalled for. If there is another positive defect in this work, it is to be found in the somewhat exclamatory and effusive style used by Don Auffray, though his idiom, verve, and freshness are always attractive.

Given the dominant phrase in the title of this work, another defect, rather of a negative character, will disappoint many expectant readers. The great Educator is what many hundreds, if not thousands, of Don Auffray's clientèle will above all else desire to study. He announces this characteristic in the very forefront of this volume ; but of his 538 well-filled pages and twenty-one chapters, only one chapter (XIV), with a bare fifteen pages of general matter, responds to the title. Even if we add part of the contents of the chapter (20 pages in all) on the Founder's publications and occasional paragraphs elsewhere, the provision of matter on Christian education is entirely too meagre, and is in fact quite submerged in the ocean of Don Bosco's external life. Don Auffray has, no doubt, given us in *Une Méthode d' Education*, published elsewhere in Paris, a more detailed study of the great Educator, mighty alike in constructive policies and in intimate personal influence. It is a pity that such a survey and presentation was not included in, even given a leading place in this *Life*. As it is, it resembles too closely those far too numerous

Lives of Founders of widespread Institutes for Catholic Education which evade, in a very conspicuous way, the primary functions of an organised and well-proportioned biography. T. C.

Celtica

ROSA ANGLICA. An Early Modern Irish translation of a section of the mediaeval medical text-book of John of Gaddesden, edited with Introduction, Glossary and English version by Winifred Wulff, M.A. Published for the Irish Texts Society by Simpkin, Marshall (London). 1929. 25s.

The *Rosa Anglica* is a well-known mediaeval medical treatise written in Latin, probably in the year 1314, by John of Gaddesden, Court Physician to Edward II. The Irish translation of portion of this treatise, which is here edited, was probably made about the year 1460. The name of the translator is not known. There is reason to believe, however, that the translation was made in the North of Ireland.

Of the matter of this tract little need be said. The *Rosa Anglica* is a good specimen of the ordinary type of mediaeval medical composition. One can readily appreciate the editor's failure to resist the temptation to repeat the famous epigram on doctors, that "their business consists in putting drugs about which they know nothing into their fellow-men's bodies about which they know less." But to value this book chiefly for its subject matter, would be entirely to misunderstand its importance. Being a translation, it cannot add anything appreciable to our knowledge of native medical practice.

The real importance of this volume, however, is the contribution which it makes to Irish lexicography and to the study of the development of the Irish language. A glance at the vocabulary will show the nature and extent of the lexicographical contribution. First in importance is the large number of medical terms of a technical nature, names of diseases, drugs and medical processes. There is also a large number of botanical names. Apart however from these technical terms, the exact significance of many words, hitherto not well defined, is here made clear. Common words, too, sometimes take on a particular and specialised meaning, while many new idiomatic expressions will be found in the text—expressions, racy and virile, called forth to meet the exigencies of translation.

It has been said that there is reason to assign to this text a Northern origin. Traces of dialecticisms are plainly evident

throughout the text, and when this matter of dialectic evidences in Early Modern Irish texts begins to receive the attention which it deserves, this translation of the *Rosa Anglica* will repay critical examination.

The Irish Texts Society is to be congratulated on having secured for this important and difficult task the services of so well qualified and so painstaking an Editor as Miss Wulff. The difficulty of the undertaking will be better appreciated when it is remembered that the work which Miss Wulff has accomplished is to a great extent pioneer work, requiring many special qualifications which, fortunately for Irish scholarship, the present editor possesses. The text has been carefully edited from the R.I.A. MSS. 23 P 20 and 23 P 10 with variants from several other MSS. The translation is excellent, and a further useful service is rendered by the quotation in the footnotes of short passages from the Latin text where these serve to elucidate the Irish.

In the introduction, besides an account of the *Rosa Anglica* and its author, there is full information about the MSS. from which the Irish text has been taken, together with some remarks on the language of the text. Miss Wulff gives also a summary account of the hereditary physicians of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, with a conspectus of the medical MSS. in Irish preserved in the various libraries. Of a MS. in King's Inns Library, Dublin, we read (p. LII): "MS. 17 is interesting. O'Reilly says that it was written at least as early as the 12th or 13th century (?). Drawings of figures of peasants, etc. on pp. 1 and 5, in the costume of that period, tend to confirm this opinion." This is rather surprising. One would have thought that the linguistic or palaeographical evidence would provide a better index for dating such a manuscript than the fashion-plates on pages 1 and 5!

One cannot but regret that the system of reference in this book is so unsatisfactory, particularly as the text is one to which reference may frequently be made. References from the vocabulary are given, not to a page or paragraph, but to the column of the manuscript page, which is marked (none too conspicuously) on the margin of the printed text. A reference to the word 'melingceech,' noted in the vocabulary as occuring in 21a, will entail the labour of reading through 45 lines of the printed text unless the enquirer is fortunate enough to start at the wrong end! References too are given in the vocabulary to portions of the text which, for one reason or another, have been omitted from the printed book.

It is ungracious to find fault with a book which in every other way is so excellent. All scholars of Irish will feel indebted to Miss Wulff for having undertaken and accomplished the extremely difficult task of editing this medical treatise. Future editors of Irish medical manuscripts will not only obtain much help from this Irish *Rosa Anglica*, but they might well take it as a model for their work.

IRELAND AND MEDIEVAL EUROPE. By Robin Flower. The Sir John Rhys Memorial Lecture. British Academy. 1927. London: Milford. 1929. 2s.

"The subject which I propose to discuss in this paper is the literature of medieval Ireland in so far as it was affected, chiefly in the Later Middle Ages, by borrowings from external sources." In these words Mr. Flower outlines the scope of this lecture. After having given "a preliminary lay-out of the general literary landscape of the Irish Middle Ages," embracing an account of the literary relations of the hereditary scribal families, the medical scribes and the religious orders in medieval Ireland, Mr. Flower examines carefully the chief manuscripts containing this new literature of translation and adaptation, and endeavours to date and locate them. He then gives a most interesting account of the religious and devotional literature of translation. The manuscript and other references are wisely relegated to the notes, which are as copious as they are important. The great importance of this religious literature, which has been practically unexplored, is brought home to us when we read of "an account of the Assumption, based on a very ancient tradition not elsewhere represented in Western literature."

Not less interesting and important are the examples of the secular literature of translation. The literature of travel is well represented in these manuscripts, containing as they do Irish versions of the Buke of John Maundeville, the Book of Marco Polo and the letter of Prester John. The romantic literature, classified into the three matters of Britain, Rome and France, next claims the attention of Mr. Flower. He very rightly deplores the backward condition of the study of the Arthurian element in Irish literature. His remarks upon the French element may be taken as supplementary to the delightful introduction to Mr. O'Rahilly's *Dánta Grádha*. The value of this paper is further enhanced by the fact that there is here edited for the first time a very beautiful little devotional poem, beautifully translated by Mr. Flower.

So much for the matter of this essay. Its greatest merit, however, lies in the fact that we have here the observations of a scholar thoroughly acquainted at first-hand with the sources which he criticises and possessing a mind keen to appreciate literary merit. So much worthless criticism of Irish literature has been written by those whose want of first-hand knowledge compelled them to deal in generalities or to accept slavishly conventional opinions, that all serious students will welcome warmly such a book as this.

All too will welcome Mr. Flower's trenchant citicism of that widespread fallacy that "vagueness and mist and an indefinite use of dubiously poetic language" are "the indubitable mark of Celticism." We hope that this criticism, coming from one who can speak with authority, may put a speedy end to all this nonsense about Celtic mist and twilight which has too long imposed on us here in Ireland.

It might appear meticulous to point out the only one small error which we have noticed; but as it is a matter of a recognised theological term, it may not be out of place here to mention that in Note 22, as in the context in the British Museum Catalogue referred to, "supreme unction" should read "extreme unction"

F. S.

Education

THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE. By Frederick W. Roman, M.A. (Yale), Ph.D. (Berlin), D.Litt. (Paris). Second Edition. London: Routledge. 1930. Pp. 458. 18s. net.

THE first edition of this survey appeared when the post-war troubles of France and of Germany, and many other states, were at their height. Its permanent utility was thereby markedly affected, as was pointed out in a notice in these pages at the time, other serious reserves being added. Its text has now (September, 1929), been "revised, enlarged, and reset," with the added assurance that its author has "carefully checked his facts." It must with regret be again stated that a full examination of Dr. Roman's chapters, old and new, fails to confirm the publishers' verdict that it is "an invaluable contribution to the critical literature of education." It will have various utilities for the experienced and cautious student, who can avail of its quotations and of some portions of its statistical information, and who is conversant with their limitations. But it is not a safe guide to the ordinary academic worker, or even to the administrator of education; and that for two main grounds.

The first of these grounds arises from the composition of this second edition. For France, Germany, and other countries previously treated, Dr. Roman has followed the curious and unhelpful plan of retaining the matter of eight years ago in its old phrasing, even keeping his verbs in the present tense. Much of that earlier matter is no longer true or effective, much less actual; yet it is almost always presented as in being. Thus the matter added in 1929, but not adjusted, is a new aggravation of a persistent fault, well developed even in 1922-23. For example, take the accounts of the French Secondary system. Much space is devoted to "the present curriculum" which "has been in use since 1902," and which disappeared in 1923-24. The time-tables, by the way, are borrowed from an English unofficial publication, and not cited as in the official sources. These pages (157-160) are followed, forty pages further on, by an onslaught on the Bérard plans of 1923-24, partisan in every line and in every adjective, and written as if the Bérard plan did not produce substantial effects in many ways, and as if its fate was still pending. The section on France is then closed, and these important issues, for the entire sequence of years, are further alluded to only in a perfunctory half-dozen lines inserted in a final omnibus chapter (p. 410).

This serious and pervasive structural error does not affect Dr. Roman's new chapters on countries not treated at all in his first edition, as those on Austria, Italy, and Soviet Russia. But these newer sections, no less than all their predecessors, are gravely vitiated by an even more radical aberration. Dr. Roman freely manifests his personal attitudes in politics, national and international, and his vehement prejudices on language issues, as when he pours scorn on the national language movement in Ireland (p. 118, footnote; and p. 129). But even more boldly and bitterly phrased is his secularism and anti-religious partisanship, which is practically omnipresent in his text. It is strongly expressed as regards France, for which his authorities and advisers are such as Compayré, Buisson, Weill, and Fauconnet, not to mention Bouglé. He refuses (p. 157) to give any statistics concerning French secondary schools other than those of the State, though the statistics are fully available in the official State records. "One is warned," Dr. Roman alleges, "that such information would be quite unreliable." So he simply says: "there exists quite a number"—over 600, he might have added.

This partisan mind, everywhere effusive, becomes aggressive concerning post-war Germany, violently voluble about Bavaria,

and throws off all limitations when Italy is reached. A mild sample of Dr. Roman's performances may be cited. "The addition of both Religion and Latin constitutes a move that gets the whole curriculum away from the sociological basis of education, which takes life's ideals from life's experiences. The latter basis seeks the salvation of the race in terms that have been generalised out of what man has seen, felt, and rationalised, instead of generalisations based on beliefs, faiths, and the spells of legend." Scores of passages far more unreserved than this could be cited both from the text and from the footnotes of Dr. Roman's chapters, old and new.

But he at times finds himself in difficulties. The "Russian experiment" is a conspicuous instance; and Dr. Roman is much exercised because Moscow claims it is following the principles and leadership of Dr. John Dewey, and is able to cite Professor Dewey as admitting the tribute to be due and true. "They took a deep pride in feeling that they had gained the approval of one of the great ones of the planet." Perturbing indeed: since Dr. Roman is at once a good American secularist and no communist; and also because Dr. Dewey is his revered master in Educational Doctrine.

T. C.

History

THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND UNDER ELIZABETH 1558—1580. By Myles V. Ronan. London: Longmans. 1930. pp. xxxiii+678. 21s. net.

FATHER RONAN is certainly an indefatigable worker. Hardly have four years elapsed since his *Reformation in Dublin* (1536-58), a volume of 575 pages, appeared, when he presents us with an even larger volume of 700 pages on the Reformation in Ireland from 1558 to 1580. This new work, dealing with the attempt to introduce Protestantism into Ireland during the first 22 years of the reign of Elizabeth, Queen of England, is an additional testimony to the wide reading of the author, his diligent examination of sources, his impartial weighing of evidence, and his independence of judgment. The period is undoubtedly obscure, more obscure than the corresponding period with which his previous volume dealt, and there is no one but would desire more light upon many points; but until further documents are discovered, we must be thankful to Father Ronan for his careful résumé of the evidence and his impartial statement of the question.

We are convinced that one of the greatest merits of Father

Ronan's earlier volume is, that by stopping where it did, it forces us to attend to the fundamental differences in the two phases of the attack made on the Catholic faith in Ireland in the sixteenth century. The first, under Henry VIII, though heretical, was primarily schismatical, and confined itself principally to denying the supreme jurisdiction of the Holy See, while leaving other Catholic dogmas untouched. The second, under Elizabeth, was not only schismatical but definitely heretical. Not content with calling in question the supremacy of the Holy See, it attempted to force upon the Catholics of Ireland the denial of at least a dozen dogmas of Catholic faith. Elizabeth had no sooner secured her succession to the throne by pretence of Catholicity and acceptance of Catholic ceremonial than she gave evidence of her intention of reversing the Catholic policy of Mary. Early in 1559 she summoned a Parliament that proclaimed her chief governor of the Church and abolished the Mass and Catholic practices in England.

In Ireland these proceedings did not pass unnoticed. Already the experience of Henry VIII's reign had taught everybody that sooner or later an attempt would be made to have the same laws passed in Ireland that had been passed in England. Nobody in Ireland desired a change of religion, at any rate nobody outside a limited circle of government officials, mostly natives of England. Preparations for opposition were organised, we know, by the Irish chiefs, of both native and Norman descent. They got into communication with Spain and France and the Holy See, seeking for sympathy and help from their fellow Catholics abroad in the struggle for the faith which they knew to be impending. No help was forthcoming from either of the two Catholic kingdoms to which they appealed. The only response received came from the Holy See, which appointed (2 August 1560) Father David Wolf, S.J., Papal Commissary for Ireland with the powers of an Apostolic Nuncio.

In spite of the anti-Catholic legislation of the English Parliament in the spring of 1559, the Catholic religion was the only religion recognised by civil law in Ireland during the first year of Elizabeth's reign, and it continued so until the sanction of an Irish Parliament could be obtained for the introduction and establishment of Protestantism. Two events of religious importance are known to have happened in the interval. On 28 May 1559 Thomas Fihilly, bishop of Leighlin, then present in the Court of England, formally accepted the royal supremacy and professed "that no foreign potentate has or by the laws of

God ought to have any temporal or spiritual power or jurisdiction within any of her Highness Dominions, but that the supreme governance thereof doth only appertain to her royal estate;" and on 16 July 1559 the new Lord Deputy Sussex was instructed to see that he and his council, in so far as the members of that council were "native-born subjects of this our realm of England," should "use the rites and ceremonies of the service of God at the best in their houses, which is by law here (in England) approved and appointed, for doing whereof, her Majesty's will is that none of them shall be impeached or molested."

After six month's preparation Sussex summoned a Parliament, which met in Christ Church, Dublin, on 11 January 1560. The vast majority of the members were hostile to the proposed changes in religion. The threats of Sussex were in vain, until by terrorism or cajolery he won over to his side James Stanyhurst. This man was considered a staunch Catholic and as such had been elected speaker of the House of Commons, but the hopes of the Catholics were disappointed. Stanyhurst betrayed his trust; by private message he assembled a handful of government supporters, who met some hours before the time publicly appointed for the meeting of Parliament, and by the votes of this small coterie the third reading of the obnoxious laws was carried. A somewhat similar procedure was followed in the House of Lords. Of some 31 bishops then living in Ireland, only 20 were summoned to attend; and of these 20 only thirteen attended. Of the thirteen who attended the Parliament, there is nothing to show how many were present in the House of Lords when the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were carried. That opinion was divided among these thirteen is certain. Father Ronan concludes that 7 were in favour of the Acts and 6 against, though (we may add) there is some reason to suspect that the division of sentiment was 8 to 5. However, Sussex having secured the support of some seven bishops, seems to have prevented by force the opposition bishops from attending, and in this way made sure he would have a majority in the House of Lords. By such sordid and unconstitutional means the Protestant Church was established in Ireland.

Of the seven bishops who co-operated in these indefensible proceedings, Father Ronan shows that five of them went over completely to Protestantism, but that two of those who had voted in favour of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, while acknowledging the royal supremacy, did not in after life observe themselves the Act of Uniformity which they had helped to

pass. These two were Bodkin of Tuam and Burke of Clonfert. Father Ronan's summary of the situation is this (p.24):— "To sum up then, the most that can be said about the Irish bishops is that out of 27 (posssibly 31) who enjoyed their Sees at the time of the Parliament only seven can be regarded with any degree of certainty as having accepted the Supremacy, and only five of those accepted Uniformity. As to the remaining 20 or 24 there is not the slightest evidence to show that they in any way conformed either in the matter of Supremacy or Uniformity."

That is a fair and conscientious presentation of the facts, as far as the Parliament of 1560 is concerned, but the story does not end there. Persistent attempts have been made to prove that outside those seven or eight bishops who voted for the anti-Catholic laws, many other Catholic bishops accepted royal supremacy in the years that followed. Father Ronan deals with the arguments advanced for this assertion in several places. It is true that during the first half of Elizabeth's reign these Acts of Parliament were enforced only spasmodically or over certain areas, as the exigencies of politics required, but at the same time it must be confessed that the definitely anti-Catholic bias of the central government exercised a constant and embarrassing pressure on all who held fast to the Catholic faith. This is apparent from the constant anxiety shown by the Lords Deputies to insert, in agreements and submissions, clauses that they must have known to be repugnant to the Christian conscience.

In difficult circumstances such as these it was natural that the Catholic bishops should try to placate their enemies, and natural too that various attempts at compromise should be made to secure toleration. From the standpoint of Catholic dogma no serious objection can be raised against some of these proposals. Swearing allegiance to an heretical queen, even to one who insists upon entitling herself chief governor of the Church, however repugnant it may be, involves no denial of Catholic dogma. That an heretical queen should appoint a Catholic bishop to a civil or ecclesiastical commission does not prove that that bishop had renounced Catholicity. To prove this it must be further shown that the said Catholic bishop *acted* on an *ecclesiastical* commission and by royal authority inquired into causes of religion and heresy, and until this has been done, the bishop in question must be deemed innocent of heresy.

The Catholic bishops at that time were willing, some of them from political prejudice, others of them under the force of circumstances, to profess their allegiance to an heretical queen.

In this there is no dogmatic difficulty. But cases occur where the government officials introduced into terms of agreement statements repulsive to Catholic ears, and other cases occur where Catholic bishops in their anxiety for toleration and a peaceful life made offers to the government the wording of which is decidedly objectionable. Thus the bishop of Raphoe in 1566 signed as witness a treaty between Calvagh O'Donnell and Lord Deputy Sydney, in which it is stipulated that "her Majesty shall have the donation of all bishops and all eccesiastical persons in Conallia" [Tir Chonaill], and the bishops of Munster, assembled at Kilmallock in 1576, "humbly desired that they might by Her Highness be inducted into their eccelsiastical prelacy," and we find the bishop of Achonry in 1585 entering into a composition with Lord Deputy Perrot as to Church lands. Father Ronan does not slur these difficulties over. He studies them in their context, and establishes clearly that, no matter how objectionable these phrases may sound, in none of these cases did the Catholic bishops who were parties to the transactions acknowledge the spiritual jurisdiction of Elizabeth or reject that of the Apostolic See. On the contrary he shows that it was just because they stood firm on that essential point that all these attempts at compromise proved abortive (pp. 491, 529, 648). In one case indeed defence is hardly possible, and that is the strange conduct of Bishop O'Molony of Killaloe who ordained *more Romano* Robert Gaffney who had been sent to him for orders "by the licence and with the commendation of his Ordinary the late [Protestant] bishop of Ossory [Christopher Gaffney], who never gave orders himself;" but Father Ronan argues, with some show of reason, that as O'Molony was probably one of the Munster bishops who took part in the Kilmallock conference of 1576 at which the royal supremacy was rejected, his lapse must have been but temporary.

There remain two difficult passages in Wolf's reports. Speaking of Bodkin of Tuam and Burke of Clonfert in a letter of 12 October 1561, he says, *Tutti due hanno dati i suoi voti alla Regina, come già ho scritto degli altri di Momonia* (p. 78), that is "Both of them have pledged themselves to the Queen, as I have already written about the others of Munster." Father Ronan's translation 'all the rest of Munster' is faulty. Wolf in this text refers not to all the bishops of Munster, but to some only, and hence his statement is quite in harmony with Father Ronan's opinion that the bishops referred to are Walsh of Waterford and Lismore and Skiddy of Cork and Cloyne. The second passage, occurring in a letter written by Wolf on 13 October 1568 while he was

imprisoned in Dublin Castle, is more difficult. Wolf here states that, with few exceptions, the bishops of Ireland recognised the Queen as head of the Church (p. 472). Father Ronan maintains that this statement is an exaggeration, and that it has no other foundation than the willingness of these bishops to accept their temporalities from the Queen and enter into such compromises as mentioned above, compromises that shocked the overzealous intransigeance of Wolf. That this settles the question may be doubted, though it is quite certain that Wolf in the gloomy solitude of his dungeon took a very dismal view of the situation, and equally certain that his denunciations of others in this very letter are hard to believe or justify, as for example when he calls Shane O'Neill an *heretical* tyrant and the MacDonnells of the Glens who killed him Scottish *heretics*.

Several general descriptions of the lamentable state of Catholicism in Ireland at this time have come down to us. Father David Wolf S.J., Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, Father William Good S.J., Edmund Tanner, bishop of Cork, James FitzMaurice and Doctor Nicholas Sander, all give us a very gloomy picture of the intellectual, moral, and religious state of clergy and laity. In this there is no cause of wonder, when we take into account the suppression of the monasteries, the religious uncertainties and political commotions of the previous generation, the temporising of leaders in Church and State, and the corrupt example of the promoters of the new heresy. What else could be expected where there were no schools, no preaching, no religious instruction ? Nevertheless these same writers, who present us with such a dismal view of the state of affairs, are equally concordant in asserting that the people were intensely attached to the Catholic religion and its devotional practices, and that such of the clergy as accepted preferment from the heretics remained frequently Catholic at heart and intended before death to return to the true Church.

The cause therefore was not desperate. Enough remained to provide a solid foundation to build on, and without delay measures were taken to stem the tide of demoralization and raise again the ruined edifice of religion. The first objects to claim attention were the selection of worthy candidates for vacant bishoprics, the education of youth and their instruction in religious doctrine. The task was entrusted to Father David Wolf S.J., who was appointed Apostolic Commissary with the powers of an Apostolic Nuncio on 2 August 1560, just six months after the first penal laws against the Catholic religion had been

passed. He was successful in the selection of candidates for sees, and the seven bishops nominated by him were a great steadying influence. A school for the Christian education of youth was opened by him at Limerick in 1564, and was carried on by his fellow Jesuits, William Good, Edmund Daniel, Robert Rochford and Charles Lee for sixteen years in various places until the persecution became so fierce that the project had to be abandoned. The sufferings of the bishops William Walsh, Thomas Leverous, Richard Creagh, Thomas O'Hierlahy, and Edmund Tanner inaugurated a new era in the history of the Irish Church. Henceforward benefices and temporalities were no longer to be the goal of the labourer in Christ's vineyard, but the propagation of the faith, in poverty, with no other expectation than imprisonment, exile or death.

It would be out of place here to enter into details regarding the careers of the many ecclesiastics who laboured in this work of spiritual revival. Much has been discovered in the last twenty years about such men as Wolf, Tanner, Daniel, Creagh, which was unknown to earlier writers. All this has been utilized by Father Ronan.

The career of Edmund Tanner is well told and illustrated by hitherto unpublished letters and documents. Tanner was a holy man. He was already a priest when at the age of 39 he entered the Society of Jesus at Rome in 1565 with a view to preparing himself for the Irish Mission. Six years later he severed his connection with the Society, but with good will on both sides. He was pining away at having to spend his time teaching philosophy in Continental colleges while the need of zealous priests in Ireland was extreme. On the other hand the dangers to which the few Jesuits then in Ireland were exposed were so great that orders had already been issued for them to return to the Continent. Tanner left the Society while at Louvain, not as Father Ronan implies, while at Rome (p. 540).

The book has been carefully printed, and not many errors occur. Some of these however are worth noting. A curious mistranslation which occurs in the Calendar of State Papers, Rome, has been reproduced. Father Wolf, having spoken of O'Connor Sligo's visit to England, adds: "*Il Signor Oddonel destrui le sue terre per stare in Inghilterra, con dire, che era perpetuo vasallo suo.*" This is rendered: "Lord Oddonel gave up his lands to live in England, professing himself the Queen's perpetual vassal" (p. 471). A slight acquaintance with O'Donnell's career should have aroused suspicion that this could not be correct.

The meaning of course is: "Lord O'Donnell ravaged his (O'Connor's) lands on account of his (O'Connor's) stay in England, saying that he (O'Connor) was his (O'Donnell's) perpetual vassal." Where another report, speaking of Christopher Bodkin, says "*Archiepiscopus tamen Tuamensis passim habitus est*," this is translated "The Archbishop of Tuam was generally excepted" (p. 642), instead of "He was generally considered to be Archbishop of Tuam." Another sentence of this report has been wrongly printed in *Archivium Hibernicum* V. 165, with the result that the translator has failed to grasp the meaning (p.641). The correct reading should be "*aut saltem eorum memoria servetur, tum ut maiori studio*" &c., and the meaning is "administrators should be appointed both to prevent dissipation of the temporalities or at least to preserve the memory of them, and in order that" &c.

Father Ronan is to be congratulated on his achievement. His work gives evidence of superior scholarship. Having a very difficult period to treat, and events to describe which even now after the lapse of more than three and a half centuries often excite passions, he has dissipated much obscurity, faced every difficulty, cleared up many a disputed point by reasonable interpretation, and if he has not been able in every case to arrive at a satisfactory solution, he has at least increased our knowledge considerably and pointed out the way for future progress.

JOHN MACERLEAN.

SAINT BENEDICT AND THE SIXTH CENTURY. By Dom John Chapman. London: Sheed and Ward. 1929. 10s. 6d.

HERE's a bone with pickings. Some may find this pugnacious little volume a bone of contention; but those who love Catholic history for its own sake will be grateful for the pickings. In form it is no more than a series of disconnected essays on topics suggested, in the main, by Abbot Butler's book on Benedictine monachism and by the same learned author's standard edition of the Benedictine Rule. But these disconnected essays, to the confessed surprise of the author himself, form a whole. And the result is a work that throws all sorts of unexpected light on Christian life and thought in the sixth century.

To many the most valuable and interesting part of this volume will be the last chapter, in which Dom Chapman's learning and critical acumen help to settle definitely the disputed meaning of a famous Benedictine idiom—the *conversatio morum*, which Abbot

Butler had already proved to be the true reading of the formula now used in the Benedictine vow: *conversio morum*. The argument is based on the contemporary usage of Cassiodorus, Ferrandus, St. Gregory and the Latin version of Justinian's *Novellae*, and shows that in the sixth century *conversatio* means technically "monastic life" (or "monasticity," to use Dom Chapman's own neologism)—what the Greeks of the same period called ἄσκησις.

Another point that will interest many more than Benedictine readers is the argument that St. Benedict's Rule, from its very form and phraseology, is a Rule that has been written, not for one monastery nor for a small group of kindred monasteries, but for all monasteries alike—an official code of discipline for the Monks of the West. This is directly contrary to the prevalent opinion, which explains the success of St. Benedict's Rule as a gradual conquest. It was written, according to most modern authorities, first and foremost for Monte Cassino and Subiaco. Later the fame of these two monasteries caused the Rule to spread, until at last it came to be recognised as the standard monastic Rule of the West. Dom Chapman's argument begins with the Rule itself, with its universal character and astonishing tone of command. Then a remarkable essay shows that the Emperor Justinian used the Rule as a standard for some of his *Novellae*, from the year 531 onwards. This implies a prestige for the Rule far earlier than had hitherto been admitted; and Dom Chapman backs his opinion by quotations from Cassiodorus, who certainly knew and imitated the Rule at Vivarium; from St. Caesarius of Arles, whom Abbot Butler counts as one of the sources of the Rule, but whom Dom Chapman (somewhat doubtfully, I think) holds to have been an imitator; and lastly from Ferrandus, whose *Vita Fulgentii* (c. 534 A.D.) seems to contain a lively polemic against Benedictine moderation, and from Ferreolus, who thinks St. Benedict too lax in the matter of stability!

Dom Chapman's conclusion from all this scattered contemporary witness is that St. Benedict intended, and was probably commissioned, to compose a Rule that should set a standard for the West; that Pope St. Hormisdas, under the influence of the monk and canonist Dionysius the Small, is the probable source of this request; that the Saint, as has been shown by Abbot Butler in his Commentary, went to immense trouble in the matter of consulting all the available literature on monastic rules of East and West; and that the Rule from the start had such prestige that Justinian, the great reforming administrator and codifier of

Roman Imperial Law, used it almost immediately after its appearance as a guide to his own legislation. As a corollary to all this theory Dom Chapman would alter the traditional dates of St. Benedict's life. The Rule, he thinks, must have been published somewhere about 525, and he would date the Saint's death probably as late as 553-5.

These are matters that concern Benedictines first and foremost, and Dom Chapman admits that he has been drawn away from his favourite New Testament studies "because I feel it a pity that Benedictine monks should write so little about St. Benedict." Certainly he and Abbot Butler need not plead guilty to that charge. But there are some of the essays in this volume which bring us further afield. Personally I have found Dom Chapman's two essays on "Lands, Serfs and Slaves" and on "The Social Condition of Monks" the most interesting in the whole volume. Here the polemic against Abbot Butler is most pronounced, for the Abbot's well-known work on Benedictine monasticism left his readers under the impression that most of the early Benedictines spent a large portion of their day at work on the farm. This is more than Dom Chapman can stand. With an erudition that is a delight to all who love such arguments, he shows that the early monastery was essentially an estate granted by some wealthy benefactor to the monks—not only the land, but also the *coloni* and the slaves who went with the land; and the land was worked in the main by these *rustici*, whose social condition at this period is practically identical with mediaeval serfdom. All sorts of curious details turn up in the passages which Dom Chapman has selected to prove his point. Is he right, for example, in his claim that the first trace of a "Third Order" in the Church goes back to a passage in Cassiodore (the reading is very doubtful), where the *rustici* on a monastic estate are required to attend at least a portion of the monk's daily office? And what are we to say of the pious but wealthy ladies who insist on having back their slaves or serfs who have slipped away and got themselves ordained priests or deacons? Did the earliest Benedictine monks serve themselves in the kitchen and refectory, or were they helped by professional *famuli*? And how many *coloni* or *pueri* (slaves) were likely to be admitted as postulants in a sixth century monastery? (There were no lay-brothers). Dom Chapman has plenty to say on all these topics.

His account of the social standing of the *rustici*—whether *coloni* or *inquilini* or *adscripticii*—would have been less confusing had he consulted Seeck's admirable article on the *colonatus* in

Pauly-Wissowa. But by the sixth century these distinctions had come to be merged in a general depression of their status to what we should call serfdom, and Dom Chapman adds a wealth of detail from out-of-the-way monastic writers. It is all a most illuminating commentary on the work done by the Catholic Church in creating a new social order out of the exhausted, over-taxed, state-controlled bureaucracy of the declining Roman Empire. A monastery in which the aristocratic St. Gregory or St. Placid could live as *fratres* side by side with discharged soldiers or the sons of *coloni,* was a lesson in the new democracy of Christ's Gospel as organised and disciplined by the Catholic hierarchy of the Roman Church. A.G.

THE IRISH BATTALION IN THE PAPAL ARMY OF 1860. By G. F. H. Berkeley. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1929. 15s. net.

THIS book gives an account of a very interesting episode in the history of nineteenth century Ireland, and one of which probably the vast majority of the present generation of Irishmen are quite ignorant. To the young, especially, the struggle which eventuated in the formation of United Italy appears merely as a continental contest. They do not know that in it their own country played a part, and that a gallant one, if small.

The years between 1853 and 1858 were dreary ones in Ireland. The Tenant League, from which so much had been hoped, had been betrayed and had fallen to pieces; the Fenian Movement had not yet come. To the young men of the day the outlook seemed dark. It appeared as if struggles for the national cause, whether fought on constitutional or on physical force lines, were all alike doomed to failure. What remained for them to do? Suddenly, they heard a voice summoning them, a cry rang out "the Church is in danger," and to that cry they rallied. They could not do otherwise; "the Catholic Religion had wound itself around the very heart-strings of the people," as Mr. Berkeley well says. At first, they had sympathised with the cause of Italian liberation, but now the Holy Father was to be attacked and that changed their views; the head of their Church must mean more to them than the interest of a foreign nationality.

When, in March 1860, Count Charles MacDonnell, a chamberlain of Pius IX., came to Dublin to ask Ireland's help for the defence of the Roman States, he met with a ready response. A couple of months later, batches of Irish lads began to arrive in Italy. And so the Battalion of Saint Patrick was formed.

It was but a small battalion, some 1,100 strong. It consisted mostly of raw untrained youths. At first it lacked almost everything—weapons, warm clothing, uniforms, stores. Up to the end it was ill provided, and armed with old-fashioned, often almost useless, guns. But yet, when the fight began, it gave a remarkably good account of itself.

Mr. Berkeley has not much to say in praise of the Papal army which the Irish had come to join. Its 17,000 men included six nationalities, some 6,500 of them being Italians. These, not perhaps unnaturally, had little heart in the cause. They did not desire to help the stranger to shed the blood of their fellow-countrymen ; neither did they wish to oppose the national asperations of Italy. Therefore, in general, they fought badly ; sometimes indeed they refused to fight at all.

When the Irish reached Italy, they were divided into two halves. One body proceeded southward to Maceratá, Rome, and finally Spoleto. The other went northward to Ancona. It was the former division which suffered the greater hardships, to a considerable extent through the mismanagement of officials and their positive dishonesty. And it was amongst them also—the two facts are probably connected—that occasional breaches of discipline, some of them rather serious but all much exaggerated by a hostile press, occurred. When, however, the fighting began, these entirely ceased. Rudyard Kipling has remarked of the Irish Soldier that he is sometimes pretty troublesome in barracks, but never on the field of battle.

On September 11, 1860, the actual war began. The first military action of note in which the Irish troops took part was the defence of Perugia. It did not last long. The papal troops were immensely outnumbered and, what was still more fatal, the citizens were in general hostile to their cause. It was chiefly in the towns that the " united Italy " ideas had spread. After a very short resistance Perugia surrendered and La Moricière, the papal general, concentrated his forces at Foligno.

The Irish troops had fought well at Perugia. But in the contest at Spoleto they played a more conspicuous part. There they occupied a post of special danger : the defence of a great part of the castle wall and of a very important gate being entrusted to them, under the command of Major O'Reilly. Their courage was, however, all in vain. They had very little artillery, and their old-fashioned guns had so short a range as to be absolutely ineffective. The resistance lasted only some twelve hours. In the evening of September 17th, Spoleto was surrendered and the Irish troops, with the rest, became prisoners of war.

The siege of Ancona was the final episode of the war. The Irish division had been long stationed there. At first, they had been rather bored and inclined to grumble. When the fighting began, conditions naturally grew much worse. "We had no shelter; no tents or huts, hardly any blankets, the earth was turned into thick mud. It was on this bed that the men had to sleep. Throughout the whole night they remained on this soaking ground, exposed to a driving rain." Such is the account given by one of their officers. But "the falling of a few bombs had sufficed to turn these intractable peasants of yesterday into sober, patient, war-hardened soldiers capable of any sacrifice." The siege lasted some ten days. Then the Piedmontese fleet forced the entrance of the harbour, and the town surrendered.

Shouting "Pius IX. for ever" the Irish prisoners were marched away to Genoa, where "the generosity of a wealthy Irish Catholic" enabled them to hire a vessel to bring them home to Ireland. For the most part they were mere lads, and many of them—Major O'Reilly and Lieutenant Crean, for instance—had before them long and useful lives in their native land.

Mr. Berkeley has provided his readers with some excellent plans illustrating the military activities of the campaign; but a map of Italy, marking the movements of the Irish troops and the positions of the various towns mentioned, would have been a boon to those whose knowledge of Italian geography is limited, and these, we fear, are not a few. In the accounts of the families and subsequent careers of the officers of the Irish Battalion we notice a few inaccuraries and omissions. Lieutenant Crean left not one but three sons. The father of the two Kirwans was a business man in Thurles. Of his seven sons, one still survives in his native town. M T. H.

Philosophy

THE DESIRE OF GOD IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. By James E. O'Mahony O.S.F.C., M.A., Ph.D., Agrégé en Philosophie à l'Université Catholique de Louvain. Cork University Press. Dublin: Educational Co. of Ireland. 1929. 10s. 6d. net.

WHERE IS THY GOD? By Father James O.S.F.C., M.A., Ph.D., Agrégé en Philosophie à l'Université Catholique de Louvain. London: Sands. 1930. 5s. net.

SOME ten years ago the present reviewer was one of the Board of Examiners of the N.U.I. who awarded the Travelling Studentship in Philosophy to the young Cork Capuchin who

now presents us with these two admirable volumes. They more than justify our award of that prize, for both are works of rare distinction. And what a contrast they make! The first volume makes its full appeal only to the trained scholar; the second will appeal to all who are seeking to serve God. I have used the term "full appeal" advisedly, for the book is quite readable in spite of its scholarship, which secured for its writer the very high distinction of the Louvain aggregation; but to appreciate its real value as a contribution to modern Scholastic thought needs more than a little knowledge on the part of the reader. Hence it is a book for the expert mainly; yet I have no doubt that the average educated reader who takes an interest in philosophy will have no difficulty in reading it, and will find much to interest him if he be but patient and thoughtful.

It is necessarily a tough book, for its theme raises some of the most subtle questions which have divided philosophers and divines alike. "No one has more clearly shown the differences that exist between the two orders of nature and the supernatural than St. Thomas; and yet, while he declares that the vision of God is beyond the powers of any created intelligence, he does not cease to repeat that there is in man a natural desire to see God. And while he distinguishes a two-fold end of man, he seems to pass from one to the other apparently oblivious of the difficulties that such a passage must create if we speak of both ends as naturally desired. How were such passeges to be interpreted"? (Intro. p. xv.). This is the problem which Dr. O'Mahony treats very exhaustively, and with a wealth of erudition and a subtlety of exposition that render his work a most valuable contribution to scholastic thought, perhaps the best original work in philosophy we have yet had from the National University. The Cork University Press has to be congratulated on securing such a volume for its series; it may well stand on our shelves beside the works of Gilson and Maritain. *Floreat Corcagia!*

The learned Doctor of *The Desire of God* becomes the fervent Capuchin of that splendid collection of retreat addresses which forms the volume *Where is thy God?* Again Cork has to be congratulated, and envied! Why don't we get such retreats elsewhere? Just the right tone and matter. Outside the great classics of spirituality I have read few, if indeed any, books of meditations which have so interested and moved me. Here is both thought and unction, an urgent strength free from sentimentalism, and plenty of matter to think over, around and about. It is splendid spiritual reading and suitable for all, young

and old, simple and learned alike. It will not suit the Laodicean, the spiritually stupid, no more than Father James's first volume is suited to the dunce; but the intelligent will enjoy it. It will also be a very useful volume to lend to any of our "separated brethern" who would wish to know what Catholic spirituality really means; it will enlighten any well-meaning Protestant on the spiritual import of the Sacraments in Catholic life, the points where we are most misunderstood by those not of the household of the Faith. John Howley.

AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHY. By Jacques Maritain. Translated by E. I. Watkin. London: Sheed and Ward. 1930. 8s. 6d.

THE French work from which this translation is made, is well known, having already passed through eleven editions. The wide interest taken at the present time in M. Maritain's work, and in this book in particular, amply justifies the translation. M. Maritain's influence is partly due, no doubt, to the trend towards Scholastic Philosophy which is so marked a characteristic of our day. Non-Catholic philosophers do not now take it for granted that Scholasticism is an out-worn system, living, if it could be said to live at all, as a rigidly controlled creature of a particular church. They are at least prepared to admit that it has intrinsic merit, and they are anxious to know its principles and method. M. Maritain, however, has caught the attention of the world more than other writers in Scholastic Philosophy, because he possesses a vivid and clear style. What he says may not be very profound; but the precision and force with which he expresses his thought show that his reading has been both wide and deep.

M. Maritain has set himself to prove that other philosophies do not account satisfactorily for the last causes of being. He describes how philosophical questions first came before the mind, and how the early Greeks and the Eastern thinkers answered them. In his opinion both their method of inquiry and their solutions were defective; and philosophy did not reach its full stature till Plato and Aristotle began their speculations. These two men between them settled once for all the main conclusions. It is refreshing, we may note in passing, to find in M. Maritain such a staunch defender of Aristotle. He grants that Aristole made mistakes, but will not allow the commentators to pass unchallenged when they attribute to him "certain errors about the human soul and the divine knowledge and causality." St Thomas put the

crown to the work by correcting the errors and by developing the principles of moderate Realism to their final conclusions.

M. Maritain explains satisfactorily why the philosophy of St. Thomas is the "philosophia perennis," what exactly it decides once and for all in its own right, and what it takes from other branches of knowledge to illustrate its solutions. The relation between philosophy and science, the control which philosophy exercises over other disciplines, the part theology plays as a negative criterion in philosophical inquiry—all these questions are treated lucidly, and with a scrupulous regard for the independence of each investigator of truth within his proper domain.

The strength of the Scholastic system lies in the fidelity with which it takes a middle course between extremes, between Conceptualism, for instance, and Nominalism, between Pantheism and Materialistic Monism, between an abstract and formal Ethics and Hedonism. Both M. Maritain's exposition and proof are put in the form of a trichotomy, the errors on the right and on the left of the central and satisfying scholastic synthesis. This method makes for clearness ; and it places Catholic philosophy in its proper historical and intellectual relations at a glance. M. Maritain, however, is careful to explain that the Thomistic system is not, as a consequence, merely eclectic, taking something from all schools and putting its gains together like a bewildering patchwork. Its thought is built to a firm pattern, thoroughly consistent all through, because it is evolved from the true ultimate causes of being, themselves detected by a correct philosophical method. The other systems fall to the left or to the right of it inevitably. On examining them in the light of the "philosophia perennis" we find points of agreement ; but the concord, where it exists, was not brought about by picking and choosing, more or less at hazard, from systems already examined.

This is a very useful and stimulating book, thoroughly well suited to give a general introduction to philosophy. J. E. C.

Politics

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF SOME GREAT FRENCH THINKERS OF THE AGE OF REASON. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw M.A., LL.D. London : Harrap. 1930. 7s. 6d. net.

Professor Hearnshaw continues in this volume the admirable series of studies which will gradually cover the whole field of the history of social and political ideas. The co-operative

method has its obvious difficulties; but Professor Laski, in the introductory paper, brings the strands together with quite exceptional skill. It is surprising how feebly on the whole the stream of political speculation flows in this "Age of Reason." In France it was an age of attack upon two venerable institutions —the French Monarchy and the Catholic Church. The writers of these studies have no sympathy with either of these great historical institutions. In this sense the book is decidedly in the English tradition, which has always exhibited sympathy with revolutionary movements in every country except England itself. A group of French writers would be likely to show at once more variety of standpoint and a greater lightness of touch.

Of the writers studied in this volume Bossuet alone is in favour of the traditional French monarchy. This of course is a sign of the strength rather than of the weakness of the prevailing system. To the men of that age the monarchy scarcely seemed to need justification. Bossuet's work on Politics is not so much a complete and detached study as a *livre de circonstance*. He is greatly hampered by the Gallicanism of the French Church and the sensitiveness of the French Monarchy. Monarchy in that age was almost universally regarded as the best type of government, and Bossuet, although he departs from the medieval Catholic tradition in many points, makes out the case for absolute monarchy with all his customary power.

Of the writers on the negative side two alone can claim to be great political thinkers,—Montesquieu and Rousseau. Voltaire, however effective his polemic, was not a systematic thinker. His writings, as M. Faguet somewhere says, are "un chaos d'idées claires." Mr. Black's study of Voltaire is one of the best things in the book, although he makes him appear, perhaps, rather more a connected thinker than in fact he was. Montesquieu is remarkable in this that, although most of his theories are erroneous, he remains always a living and suggestive thinker. The doctrine of the Separation of Powers with which his name is chiefly associated is founded upon a mistaken view of the English political system of his time; his theory of the influence of climate goes back to Bodin and has little plausibility; his historical deductions rest on a narrow and insufficient basis. But his writing seems always wonderfully subtle and alert, and he abounds in acute observations.

The editor's study of Rousseau is admirable. On his political philosophy opinions will always differ. The trouble is that so many contradictory lines of speculation seem to exist side by side that one may be tempted to say of Rousseau what Mr.

Bertrand Russell says of Kant, that he is not so much a philosopher as a calamity. In the two *Discours* he argues as a political anarchist. In the *Contrat Social* he seems an authoritarian of an extreme type, a supporter of some form of state-absolutism. But whether these contradictions can or cannot be reconciled—and Professor Hearnshaw tries to show that they may both originate in the same psychological attitude—it must be admitted that Rousseau's political philosophy has been vastly influential. Out of it there came not merely some of the dominant ideas of Kant's ethics but the political philosophy of Hegel and his school. Rousseau's political theories are seldom as simple as they appear. His theory of the "*volonté générale*" may be, as Professor Hearnshaw suggests, a fruitful and suggestive theory, but it bristles with psychological difficulties. Although Rousseau makes it the basis of his direct democracy, it is quite irreconcilable with the modern representative idea. Rousseau meant it to be so. The Englishman, he points out, is a citizen only on the day of an election, for this is the only occasion on which he exercises a political function. The only genuine polity is a direct democracy on the model of the Greek city-state or of Geneva. But while democracy is the best type of state-organisation, it is the worst form of government.

How far these theories of the "Age of Reason" may have been responsible for the ultimate destruction of the French monarchy is a matter difficult to decide. If they did not create the Revolution, they certainly helped to give it its particular direction. The men of the revolutionary age often enough seem to speak out of the mouth of Rousseau. But the "Age of Reason," however strong on its critical side, was weak in construction. The great philosophical ideas upon which alone permanent political institutions can be built must be looked for elsewhere.

D.O'K.

Science

ESSAI SUR LA LOGIQUE DE L'INVENTION DANS LES SCIENCES.

ESSAI SUR LES CONDITIONS POSITIVES DE L'INVENTION DANS LES SCIENCES. Par Jacques Picard, Agrégé de Philosophie, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris: Alcan. 1928. 25 fr. et 30 fr.

These two essays are on the same lines, and form an interesting contribution towards the important subject of the mentality of a discoverer or inventor. "La méthode peut-elle contribuer à la découverte de faits nouveaux ou à l'invention d'idées neuves et fécondes? Faut-il au contraire l'exclure de la découverte et

de l'invention proprement dites pour la reléguer dans la vérification des faits et des idées, voilà la question que nous allons essayer de résoudre." These two volumes are concerned with the solution of this problem. As one might expect, there is a great deal to be said on both sides.

Both volumes are illustrated by examples taken from the history of science, and tell us many interesting facts about the origins of many of the great discoveries and the men who made them. It is to be regretted that there is not an index in either volume, as many of the examples are worth referring to. It may be said at once that the impression left in reading these books is not very definite. As an analysis of the way in which discoveries are made the essays are well worth reading, but whether they will serve to produce a discoverer or inventor is not so easily determined. The different qualities which go to make an original worker are considered with true French exactitude. A great discovery is not the result of individual effort. Unless the ground has been carefully prepared by the work of many minds and unless the scientific atmosphere is favourable to its reception, a great advance in any one direction is impossible. In fact the more original and daring is the new concept, the more unlikely is it to be received.

The author ought, perhaps, to have brought out more fully the actual conditions of scientific discovery. Possibly a great obstacle to new discoveries is the very perfection of modern scientific methods and especially of modern scientific instruments. Most of the modern discoveries were made, in the first instance, by the use of inexact methods which involved very little exact measurement. For example, modern astronomical instruments would have shown so many departures from general laws that the very existence of these laws would have been called in question. The modern training in exact measurements is apt to make the faculty of general observation less acute. A consideration of the subject on the lines indicated by the author brings out the fact that the most important faculty in discovery is this power of observation. Many workers see the same thing, but very few, possibly only one sees that the fact he has observed is new or that it is worth paying any attention to. Yet it happens very frequently that discoveries are made when the scientist is occupied with the study of some problem which is not directly connected with what he observes.

No doubt logic and method are essential if one's time and energies are not to be wasted in following up every hare that is raised, but in the case of the great inventors logic and method

never were allowed to tramel originality of outlook. To-day scientific research is a business, and as such must be kept along certain fixed paths. Every great engineering firm has its research-staff, whose work is along definite lines. In the universities the activities of budding scientists are almost of necessity along lines indicated by a professor or director of research. One would be inclined to think that very often the best years of a brilliant student's career are not employed as fruitfully as is desirable on this account. No doubt training in research-methods is essential, and a great deal of experience can be gained in almost any line of work. But it seems a pity that much valuable time, expense and energy should go to proving theories which at best can have but an academic interest. Yet even here one must be careful in generalising.

In every research department there is room for a general knowledge of the history of science. The tendency of specialisation is to narrow the mind, and a corrective is necessary. Books like these essays are therefore of great utility to those who are occupied with special problems. In reading these essays one misses many names which one would expect to find, especially in connection with modern science. The outlook of the writer is possibly too *French*, and one misses the cosmopolitan note which is characteristic of the present-day scientific world. This is made all the more evident by the bibliographies attached to each volume; the list of authors cited is almost altogether confined to the countrymen of the writer.

But, in spite of these defects, the two essays will be of great utility to those who are engaged in scientific work, and will be most fruitful and suggestive to those who study them. H.V.G.

Theology

LA DOCTRINE DU CORPS MYSTIQUE DE JESUS CHRIST. D'après les principes de la théologie de St. Thomas. Par l'Abbé Joseph Anger. Paris: Beauchesne. 1929. 40 fr.

The doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ—of the Church as mystical body of which Christ is the Head and we are the members—has in recent years been given a very prominent place in devotional and ascetical literature. Does this doctrine receive the prominence that it deserves in dogmatic and moral theology? The Abbé Anger thinks that it does not, and that theology is thereby deprived of its chief source of light, its principle of unity and life. He is in search of a dominating synthetic idea that would group the various theological treatises in a vital unity,

and this he finds in the doctrine of the mystical body, This, he maintains, is the dominating idea in the vast theological synthesis bequeathed to us by St. Thomas, especially in the *Summa*: an idea which everywhere makes its appearance à propos of various dogmatic questions, and which gives unity and cohesion to the whole. Accordingly, in the light of this doctrine and following the guidance of St. Thomas, supplemented by frequent reference to Scripture and the Fathers, he reviews in succession the doctrines of the Incarnation, of Redemption and Justification, the theology of the Sacraments, especially the Blessed Eucharist; of the Church and her moral teaching; of the Resurrection, the Beatific Vision, and of the predestination of the elect in Christ.

The learned Abbé has done a useful work in emphasising the importance of this doctrine, which occupies so large a place in the teaching of St. Paul. He brings together many beautiful thoughts, not indeed new to theologians and students of the Scripture, but which gain a new force from his manner of linking them together. Thus meditation on the human life of our Lord can gain a new force from the reflection, "that nothing in the life of Christ is so exclusively personal to Him that His members have not their part therein." The bearing of this doctrine on the dogmas of vicarious satisfaction and of our resurrection is well developed. In this connection also there are some suggestive remarks concerning that efficient causality which St. Thomas ascribes to the Passion and Resurrection—"mors Christi fuit nobis salutaris non solum per modum meriti, sed etiam per modum cujusdam efficientiae." Does not the doctrine of the Mystical Body suggest a possible explanation. "Ascensio Christi est directe causa ascensionis nostrae, quasi inchoando ipsam in capite nostro, cui oportet membra conjungi." (3 P. q.57 a.6. ad 2). This doctrine the author shows us also in the Fathers: in explaining the words of our Lord, "No one ascends into heaven except Him who descended," they tell us: the Head descended; He reascends with His mystical body.

The author's enthusiasm for his subject leads him sometimes to statements which seem to the present reviewer to be at least open to misunderstanding. Thus in the section on the Mass we read (p. 278): "Jésus Christ n'est par à la messe l'unique victime, comme sur la croix: mais l'Eglise qui offre par lui et avec lui, s'offre elle-même avec lui." The author adds certainly the limitation, "non pas certes sur le même plan que le Christ, ni au même titre; car le corps naturel du Christ est ce qui constitue l'offrande, la chose offerte." But is not the

victim the thing offered ? The author is led to this statement by an application to the Mass of St. Augustine's dictum : " The exterior sacrifice is a sign and symbol of the interior sacrifice." Doubtless this principle has its application in the offering of the Mass ; but we think that the author does not make it sufficiently clear that the value of the Mass does not consist merely, nor even chiefly, in being the outward sign of the inward sacrifice which the Church and the faithful make of themselves. We may say in conclusion that the book is well calculated to attain the end the author had in view : to help priests and students of theology to vitalize their theological science by bringing its various teachings into more close and actual contact with the daily Christian and spiritual life. P.O'D.

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Ales, Adhemar d' ...	Eucharistie. (Bloud & Gay, 12 fr.).
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